



# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder

*By* JANET R. FIREMAN AND MANUEL P. SERVIN

Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese  
in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960

*By* GEORGE CHU

State Separation Schemes, 1907-1921

*By* ROBERTA M. McDOW

Harbor Entry and Recognition Signals in Early California

*By* DONALD C. CUTTER

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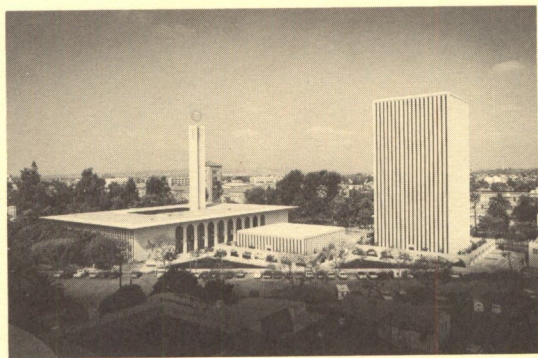
MARCH 1970



# SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ITS UNIVERSITY



By MANUEL P. SERVÍN, *Associate Professor of History at the University of Southern California,* and IRIS HIGBIE WILSON, *Associate Professor of History at the University of San Diego.*



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# Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder

By JANET R. FIREMAN AND MANUEL P. SERVÍN

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ALTHOUGH MIGUEL COSTANSO was probably the best educated and most able man of all the members of Alta California's founding expedition,<sup>1</sup> it is ironical that today in California, practically nothing is known of this military engineer, and no material has been uncovered relating to his birth, education, and death. Though Costansó has been neglected by contemporary historians, records in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries leave no doubt concerning this California founder's importance and stature during his lifetime.

Costansó arrived in New Spain in 1764 with the military reorganization expedition of Lieutenant General Don Juan de Villalba. Born in Barcelona in 1741, he had entered the Corps of Engineers on January 12, 1762, with the rank of *subteniente*, as *ingeniero delineador*, after having served in the Spanish Infantry along the Catalanian and Granada coasts.<sup>2</sup> Nicolás de Lafora, a member of the group of military engineers with whom Costansó departed from Spain, not only described their arrival, but recognized early that Costansó distinguished himself in New Spain. Lafora described the arrival briefly when he wrote that

In the month of August of 1764 seven military engineers departed from Spain for Mexico where they formed a brigade which was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Miguel del Corral. In addition to the above mentioned, it consisted of the following: Engineer Corps Captains Antonio Exarich and Nicolás de Lafora, Lieutenant Felipe Sallent, and Sublieutenants Miguel Costansó, Francisco Fersene, and Joseph González. These men arrived at Veracruz toward the end of the above-said year. Some of these officers, as a result of their activities in New Spain, distinguished themselves, among them the Engineer Costansó.<sup>3</sup>

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JANET R. FIREMAN is currently in Spain completing her research on the Spanish Corps of Engineers in New Spain. Manuel P. Servín presented a paper on Miguel Costansó at San Diego during the Bicentennial Celebration of the Founding of California.

From the time of his arrival at Veracruz in 1764, until May of 1767, Costansó served under General Don Antonio Ricardos and his immediate superior, Lieutenant Colonel Miguel del Corral, in mapping and charting the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Less than a year before Costansó left Veracruz, his first post in what was to become an extremely long career in New Spain, there were seven military engineers stationed in Veracruz and at the harbor fortification San Juan de Ulúa. Four more military engineers served the interior of New Spain,<sup>4</sup> and it was to the credit of Costansó that he was selected, upon his own petition, to travel to Sonora as engineer for the Elizondo expedition, sent to control rebel natives.

Costansó served under Brigadier Domingo Elizondo for about one year, charting the battle plans and taking geographical and topographical measurements utilized in later maps.<sup>5</sup> Called from Sonora by Visitor General José de Gálvez, Costansó continued southwest and joined Gálvez in San Blas to participate in the *junta* to decide upon the "proposed voyages to San Diego and Monterey".<sup>6</sup>

It is obvious from the men that Gálvez invited — Engineer Costansó, Naval Commandant Manuel Rivero Cordero, Mathematician Antonio Faveau y Quesada, and Royal Navy Pilot Vicente Vila — that no hacks were consulted. Even Captain Gaspar de Portolá and Father Fray Junípero Serra were not present to plan the occupation of Alta California. Gálvez did not inform Portolá, who at the time was governor of Sinaloa, until after the *junta*.<sup>7</sup> Fray Junípero was not yet a follower of Gálvez because Father Francisco Palou and the Fernandinos had just finished their intrigue to replace the Jaliscan Franciscans in the former Jesuit mission field of Lower California.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, to overlook Gálvez's plan and ambition to occupy Upper California, and especially to ignore the plans that Costansó, Rivero, Faveau y Quesada, and Vila helped to develop for the founding of Alta California, is historical folly.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of Gálvez' plan and Costansó's contribution for the founding of Upper California are well appreciated and described by Professor Michael E. Thurman, the authority on the port of San Blas, where he states that

Gálvez also assisted Manuel Rivero with his plans for building up a permanent settlement — the village of San Blas. Noting that the commandant had completed an outline map of the new Villa de San Blas and the port, Gálvez assigned his own engineer, Dragoon Lieutenant Miguel Costansó, to complete a set of finished drawings for submission to the viceroy. Apparently both Costansó and Colonel Domingo Elizondo worked on the maps and drawings, but the official map or maps sent to Viceroy Francisco de Croix were drawn by Lieutenant Costansó. Consequently, from the point of view of modern-day historians, the remarkable Costansó had contributed early and significantly to the founding of Alta California — in this case, with his intimate knowledge of its major supply base and the new military bastion of San Blas.<sup>10</sup>

Building the Villa de San Blas was, however, only the first project initiated for occupying Upper California. The other plans developed by this distinguished *junta* were put into effect efficiently and quickly. Both Costansó and Gálvez crossed the Sea of Cortés and landed in the rundown former Jesuit mission fields. Costansó was dispatched to the area north of Cape San Lucas and made scale drawings and plans of the Cape, Bahía de La Paz, and Cerralvo.<sup>11</sup> Gálvez dictatorially examined the missions, reorganized administrative methods, instituted other reforms and practices, and organized the four-phased Sacred Expedition to Alta California, personally selecting Fray Junípero Serra as president of the future missions despite opposition to the project by Serra's superior.<sup>12</sup>

The Sacred Expedition was a dramatic success. The *San Antonio*, commanded by Juan Pérez, discoverer of Vancouver Island, arrived first on April 11, 1769. The *San Carlos*, commanded by Vicente Vila and carrying Engineer Costansó and Lieutenant Pedro Fages, dropped anchor on April 29. The first land expedition, led by Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, and accompanied by diarist Fray Juan Crespi, made camp on May 14. Finally, the Portolá-Serra contingent, almost duplicating Rivera y Moncada's march, arrived at San Diego on July 1 after losing thirty-two out of forty-four Jesuit civilized Indians.

Consequently, San Diego was the first European settlement in California. With the primary establishment of California, Costansó's active role in the province diminishes while that of other leaders, except Portolá, increases in importance. While Fray Junípero

Serra remained in San Diego to take care of the ill, Costansó accompanied Portolá in his unsuccessful attempt to locate Monterey Bay in 1769. Miguel Costansó, who would draw up plans for the Presidio and Mission of Monterey,<sup>13</sup> was appointed cosmographer of the first trek. His work in 1769 consisted of marking and mapping "the ports and lands that might be discovered, and at the port of Monterey to lay out the royal presidio that was to be founded."<sup>14</sup> Costansó did his work excellently. Keeping a superb account of the entire expedition which would later be published in his famous narrative on the expeditions to Alta California, Costansó was the first man to chart impressive and beautiful San Francisco Bay. The quality of his work is succinctly described in an article, "The Visual Knowledge of California to 1700," by Arda M. Haenszel.

San Francisco Bay, of course, was not shown on any maps of the California coast until Costansó's map was published in 1771, although most of the other coastal features were extremely well known and fairly well shown much earlier. To this young and extremely talented engineer with the Portolá party fell the honor of adding the last and greatest harbor of all. And quite accurately he drew it. As with Kino, the Spanish here had an expert right on the spot.<sup>15</sup>

Costansó's talent and skill as a mapmaker was no accident. As a corpsman, Costansó necessarily possessed not only military knowledge, but also technical skill.<sup>16</sup> When Don Jorge Próspero, Marquis of Verboom, proposed a plan to Philip V in 1710 for the organization of a Corps of Spanish Engineers, he suggested that admittance into the new corps be dependent on several qualifications. Verboom insisted that candidates for the corps already be officers in the armed forces as much for necessary military knowledge and training as for the elite stature he designed the corps to have. Further, Verboom demanded that military engineers be trained especially in technical and scientific aptitudes in the Real Academia Militar de Matemáticas, which he established in Barcelona, modeled after the one in Brussels.<sup>17</sup>

By a royal decree of April 11, 1711, the Corps of Engineers of Spain was established on Verboom's plan, and with him as *Ingeniero General*. The first general ordinance of the corps was promulgated on July 4, 1718, and set down the basic organization of the corps that was to continue through the century. Administrative changes



were implemented through royal order during the first half of the century, and a distinctive new general ordinance was published in 1768, and another, again in 1803.<sup>18</sup> A plan of 1749 called for the stationing of 110 military engineers in the Indies,<sup>19</sup> but shortly after his arrival in New Spain, Costansó was one of only eleven engineers in New Spain, the area of Spanish possessions in America that always received more engineers than any other.<sup>20</sup> By 1778, there were still no more than eleven engineers in New Spain, out of a total of fifty-six in all of Spanish Ultramar.<sup>21</sup> Despite elaborate suggestions and plans for augmentation of the corps in the Indies dated 1767, 1768, and 1778, by 1809 the number of engineers in New Spain (including Texas and Florida) still remained at eleven, out of a total of fifty-seven regular corpsmen.<sup>22</sup>

Costansó and his six fellow engineers who arrived in New Spain in 1764 with Villalba, formed the core of Spain's engineering delegation to New Spain. Because of the short number of engineers in the realm, and the demand for their skills, designation of a corpsman to accompany the Sacred Expedition is one more indication of the importance placed on the project by the Visitor General and the Crown. That Costansó was selected by Gálvez is indication of the confidence and esteem in which the young engineer was held.

Despite the praise showered on Costansó for his mapping of San Francisco Bay and his drawing of plans for the presidio of Monterey, his outstanding contribution to California during his stay rests in another area. Actually, it is as an historian and writer that he truly distinguished himself. His *Diario Histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California* (Mexico, 1770), unlike the California diaries of other founders such as Junípero Serra,<sup>23</sup> Juan Crespi,<sup>24</sup> and Gaspar de Portolá,<sup>25</sup> is not merely a boring day by day chronicle or a ghost written memoir. Costansó's *Diario* is a valid historical account that reflects modern methodology. The diary contains background information to the occupation as well as the events themselves of the Sacred Expedition. Costansó wrote with balance, he avoided bias and trivia, and differing from other diarists, mastered grammatical Castilian. In brief, he is California's first true historian.

It is no wonder then that Zoeth Skinner Eldredge described Costansó's *Diario* as "the admirable narrative of Miguel Costansó, the engineer of the expedition,"<sup>26</sup> and that Hubert Howe Bancroft

enumerated it first among works devoted exclusively to the founding of the province.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, Bancroft indirectly praised the quality of Costansó's work even more when he stated that "Crespi's diary, like that of Portolá, is a long, and, except in certain parts, a monotonous description of petty happenings not worth remembering."<sup>28</sup> J. Gregg Lane, editor of the Historical Society of Southern California, which published Crespi's *Diary* of the discovery of Vancouver Island, despite his Society's previous predilection for Crespi and for the friars, also demonstrated his appreciation of Costansó's work by writing that the name of Ensign Miguel Costansó . . . "will never become dim in the pages of our history because of his diary of the expedition."<sup>29</sup>

Despite his assigning due praise to Costansó, J. Gregg Lane was in error on two points. First, Costansó was scarcely ever anything but dim in written California history, especially in textbooks. Secondly, it would not be because of either his cartographical contributions or his historical writings that Costansó would merit recognition in California, but rather through his recommendations for populating California and his part in establishing the Villa de Branciforte, present-day Santa Cruz.

Actually, Costansó's work in populating California began with the expedition's failure to find Monterey in 1769. Costansó, according to Portolá's *Diario*, along with Pedro Fages and Fernando Rivera y Moncada, urged the commander to search farther north for Vizcaíno's Monterey.<sup>30</sup> Just what were the true roles that Costansó, Serra, and others played later in urging that San Diego be not abandoned after the first fruitless Monterey expedition returned is difficult to assess from the nature of the sources.<sup>31</sup> But that Serra's role appears to have been overstressed by some historians, especially by the hack romantics, is evident.

Charles E. Chapman, the authority on the founding of Alta California, propounds that the military, consisting of Portolá, Costansó, Fages and the reputedly timid Rivera y Moncada, along with the overdetermined Serra, were decided to hold California. Chapman, disagreeing with his colleague Bolton, reduces the stature of Serra and raises that of the military when he boldly states:

A story has sprung up that Portolá might have abandoned Alta California but for Father Serra. The latter is said to have prevailed upon the commander

to delay his departure, with the result that the *San Antonio* was sighted the very day before Portolá planned to leave. If this is true, then Serra is to be credited with having saved the Alta California establishments in the first hour of need. It seems probable, however, that it is an injustice to Portolá. There is no doubt that Serra wanted to stay, and that Portolá was not enthusiastic over the new country, but the commander in chief was a soldier whose every action . . . seems to show an intention to carry out his orders and hold the country to the last moment compatible with the safety of the forces under his command. . . . "The remainder of the expedition," decided the junta, . . . "was to clearly hold this important post".<sup>32</sup>

Although Costansó was only one member of the *junta* and he was not the expedition's commander, because of his previous relationship with Gálvez, he wielded great influence at San Diego. Thus, his advice should have had much more effect on Portolá than that of either Lieutenant Fages or Militia Captain Rivera y Moncada.

After the founding of Monterey, Costansó's influence upon the development of California would have to be felt mostly from outside the province. In 1770, shortly after the planting of permanent colonization, both Costansó and Portolá sailed for Mexico.<sup>33</sup> Portolá became governor of Puebla de los Angeles in Mexico in 1777, where he governed until 1784, and "was finally ordered to Spain where he died."<sup>34</sup> Costansó returned to Mexico where he began a long career in the capital, distinguishing himself as the unofficial director of civil architecture and of improvement in the enlightenment years of the later Spanish period.

Only twenty-three years old when he arrived in New Spain, Costansó spent the next one-half century laboring in the New World. He was a man completely dedicated to his work, as proved by the exhaustive list of his accomplishments. After his return from the Alta California expedition, Ingeniero Extraordinario Costansó was put in charge of construction of the Hospital General de San Andrés. In 1772 he began a project that took him eight years: the erection of a new building to house the Real Casa de Moneda.<sup>35</sup> By order of Viceroy Mayorga in 1779, he began work that lasted two and one-half years on the new powder factory in the pueblo of Santa Fe near the capital.<sup>36</sup> He directed the reconstruction of the burned powder factory at Chapultepec, drafted plans for and supervised the pavement and the leveling of Mexico, and gave advice on the drainage and water supply from Lake Chalco for the capital. Many public

# ELEMENTOS

de Geometría que en la  
R<sup>a</sup> Academia de Sn Carlos de  
esta Ciudad de Mexico

dictò

el S.<sup>r</sup> D.<sup>n</sup> Miguel Constanzo  
Capitan de Ingenieros y Preceptor  
primero de dha Aula



Courtesy of Porrúa, S. A.

Title page of Miguel Costansó's textbook on geometry that he used at the Academy of San Carlos where he was a professor.



works commissions were assigned to the talented engineer and architect. He designed a new tobacco factory, the botanical gardens, a cock-fighting arena, a house of mercy, fountains for the main plazas, and the Academy of San Carlos for the study of the fine arts where he became a professor of geometry.<sup>37</sup>

Costansó participated actively in planning for the defense of the realm during the period when the Spaniards believed England to be menacing New Spain. He surveyed and reported on the damage done to the harbor fortifications at Acapulco by an earthquake in 1776. His plan for a new pentagonal edifice and outworks was approved in 1777, but was altered slightly. Costansó's basic plan for Acapulco survived as the primary Pacific Coast defense.<sup>38</sup>

Throughout his career, viceroys and other officials consulted Costansó for his advice on various projects. He was even called on to investigate the massacre of the Alhóndiga de Guanajuato by the renegade secular priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.<sup>39</sup>

In keeping with military regulations of the day, Costansó petitioned for permission to marry in 1776. The request was granted a little over a year later for the engineer to marry Doña Manuela de Aso y Otal, who was from a fine family in New Spain.<sup>40</sup> In Costansó's fifty-two years in the Corps of Engineers, he lived through the administrative and organizational changes from above that set the mold for the modern Spanish engineers. He rose in the ranks to the post of *mariscal de campo* and *cuartel maestro general* of the two military districts of New Spain. At his death on September 27, 1814, Costansó was *director subinspector* of the Corps of Engineers, one of fourteen men in the Indies holding this prestigious post, the highest attainable in the corps below the *ingeniero general* and *comandante general*.<sup>41</sup>

Although Costansó's major work took place in central Mexico, he continued from the capital, to contribute to the development of California. His first such duty was almost immediately after his arrival in Mexico, when he informed the Visitor General and the Viceroy of the successful occupation of Alta California.

In 1772 Costansó once more was called upon for his expert advice on California matters. Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa received a petition from Juan Bautista de Anza for permission to open a route from Sonora to Alta California, the long-cherished

dream of the Jesuits. Bucareli, in his usual methodical manner, carefully consulted his advisors in the capital and requested information from any expert witness who happened to be available.<sup>42</sup> Herbert E. Bolton describes the role Costansó played:

Already three months had passed when in August Bucareli referred Anza's proposal to Miguel Costansó, the brilliant young engineer who had been with Portolá in New California, where he had designed presidios and drawn beautiful maps. Having left California with Portolá he was now in Mexico City.

Ten days later Costansó replied with characteristic clearness. His views in the case summed up the whole situation. Judging from the longitudes, Costansó concluded that by air line it was a hundred and eighty leagues from Tubac to San Diego. His estimate was not far from correct. . . .

The proposed journey Costansó considered feasible. The mountains were rough, but . . . since the Indians crossed them, Spaniards should be able to do likewise. . . .

Of the utility of exploration Costansó had no shadow of a doubt. The new settlements planted by Portolá as such were at stake. The barren Peninsula would give no aid. The Gulf was treacherous, and the land route from Loreto to San Diego long and arduous. The sea voyage from San Blas was difficult, and the vessels too small to carry the families of the colonists. As a consequence the New California soldiers were condemned to "perpetual and involuntary celibacy . . ."<sup>43</sup>

Fortuitously for Anza's name and California's future, the plan was adopted, and the presidio captain made two memorable treks in 1774 and 1775. Some two hundred colonists from Sonora and Sinaloa journeyed with Anza to California and founded the presidio of San Francisco in 1776. Anza's plan, incidentally, as Chapman points out, was not activated by Serra, as Richman would have it, but rather through Costansó and other advisors, but especially by Bucareli.<sup>44</sup>

Within a year of Anza's second trek, Bucareli once again consulted Costansó concerning another California problem: the silting in of San Blas harbor. In this case Costansó appears to have had little influence. Despite participation in two rounds of consultation and lengthy, heated controversy, Costansó's advice on San Blas went unheeded. Agreeing with the distinguished Ignacio Arteaga of Pacific Northwest Coast navigation fame, Costansó recommended that the port be transferred elsewhere. Unsupported in their professional judgment by the *fiscal* of the *audiencia* and by Engineer Miguel del Corral, Costansó's and Arteaga's suggestions were ignored. The Spaniards continued to use the worst port on the Mexican West Coast for supplying California.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, concerning settlement of California by civilized non-Spaniards — *gente de razón* — Costansó was again consulted and once again made most sagacious recommendations. This occupation by Mexican settlers was to become an extremely delicate situation. Although Father President Junípero Serra wrote that he approved of “introducing towns for Spaniards” after the Indians became civilized,<sup>46</sup> he and fellow Fernandinos never fully supported lay colonization in their efforts and dreams. Every petition, every movement, and every establishment of a pueblo of *gente de razón* by governmental officials was either criticized or directly opposed by the friars.<sup>47</sup> They zealously sought to protect the California Indian and also, perhaps, to maintain their own influence in the province.<sup>48</sup>

Importing settlers, who later in the Mexican period may have helped to stem United States imperialism, became an accentuated problem after the founding of pueblos San José and Los Angeles. These settlements failed to prosper either in material production or in population growth. Consequently, in 1787, Governor Pedro Fages “proposed that artisans imprisoned in Mexico and Guadalajara should have their sentence commuted to exile in California on condition of working out their term at the presidios or missions, and subsequently remaining as settlers.”<sup>49</sup> No steps were decisively taken until a contractual plan was considered later in the 1790's.<sup>50</sup> As might be expected, Miguel Costansó was consulted on the proposal. Costansó's recommendations, a copy of which is located at the Bancroft Library, reveal that able mind and keen foresight that distinguished this historically neglected man. Costansó suggested that each artisan instructor should remain teaching the Indians for at least four or five years and that each should receive salary and rations proportionate to the type of work involved and the size of his family. Costansó recommended that after an instructor had completed his term of duty, he should remain in California, receiving land, cattle, and other colonizing materials as inducement to settle permanently. Families should be sent to California with the instructors to avoid difficulty in regulating their conduct, and at the same time he encouraged marriage among the eligibles, thereby increasing population growth in the province.<sup>51</sup>

From Costansó's and other officials' recommendations, a plan was formulated.<sup>52</sup> About “twenty artisan instructors were sent to Cali-

fornia, chiefly in 1792 and 1795, a few of whom remained permanently as settlers, but most retired on expiration of their contracts before 1800."<sup>53</sup> So many returned because the friars, pleading poverty, insisted that instructors work for almost nothing and the teacher-colonists thereby came to believe that they were being exploited — a situation that has at times existed between the California laity and clergy.<sup>54</sup> Consequently, the friar's actions frustrated Costansó's and the Viceroy's plan for population of the province with people from Mexico.

This frustration came at an extremely critical period in the history of New Spain and of California. Costansó's recommendations for populating the province demonstrated his foresight in diagnosing the problems facing the province and New Spain. At this same time, the British were threatening underpopulated Alta California.<sup>55</sup> Apparently, civil government officials recognized the British threat and the dire need to strengthen California. In September of 1793 the Viceroy, the Marquis of Branciforte, decreed that he receive recommendations from experts for strengthening the presidios of Alta California. Costansó, as one of the experts consulted in this matter, submitted his *Informe* on October 17, 1794. In addition to stating that troops already in California were of use only for civilizing the Indians, that a new corps had to be formed for garrisoning the presidios, and that additional batteries were needed; he recognized, and emphasized the urgency of populating the province.<sup>56</sup>

Unlike the Franciscans, and especially the late President Junípero Serra, Costansó condemned the possession by individuals or Church of immense, unpopulated sections of land. And, perhaps more humanitarian and more Christian-like, Costansó did not discriminate against the *gente de razón*. Instead of segregating Indians and the *gente de razón*, he believed that the province would be strengthened if *gente de razón* intermingled with natives. Unfortunately, the ideas of this great engineer — a man who designed fortifications, beautiful churches, and civil monuments; who helped engineer the drainage and water supply of Mexico City and who contributed to the establishment of ports; and who served in the primary planning of the establishment of Alta California — unfortunately, many of his noble ideas were rejected by powerful and dedicated, but inelastic friars whose actions did not truly help the Indian to survive



and integrate. Even more unfortunate, however, is that not only were many of his ideas rejected, but that they have not been adequately recorded by historians. Indeed, an historical tragedy would have been perpetuated by the neglect of such a distinguished thinker and builder as Miguel Costansó, California's first historian, had not Fr. Francis Guest, O.F.M., delineated the former's role in the founding of the Villa de Branciforte in 1797.<sup>57</sup>

This article has been written as an introduction to the California Writings of Engineer Costansó. In the next issue will appear the previously untranslated "Report of Don Miguel Costansó to the Viceroy, the Marquis de Branciforte, on the Plan for Strengthening the Presidios of New California, 1794."

## NOTES

1. It is impossible to determine the educational level of the Franciscans because no course of study for their seminary work has been found or published. Judging from the writings and journals of the Majorcan priests, it does not appear that they received a thorough liberal arts education.

2. AGI, *México* 1515; AGN, *Historia* 568; AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 7272. Although Costansó is almost always referred to as an ensign (*alférez*) upon his arrival in New Spain in published sources and documents related to the founding of Alta California, and is also called *alférez* in "Destinos dela tropa de la Expedic. del Then. Gral. D. Juan de Villalba," September 20, 1764, AGI, *Contratación* 5507; his proper rank was *subteniente*. In a royal decree of October 19, 1756, ranks and classes for members of the Corps of Engineers were prescribed, and the class of *ingeniero delineador* was to have the rank of *subteniente*, which was Costansó's status as of his entrance into the corps in 1762. The royal decree appears in José Antonio Portugués, *Colección General de las Ordenanzas Militares, sus inovaciones y aditamentos* (Madrid, by royal order, 1764), VI, 803.

3. Nicolás de Lafora, *Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de América Septentrional perteneciente al Rey de España (1766-1768)*, ed. by Vito Alessio Robles (México. 1939). p. 15.

4. AGN, *Historia* 568; AGN, *Indiferente de Guerra* 236.

5. Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1964), Map No. 105, f.p. 176, and p. 541; José Antonio Calderón Quijano, "Ingenieros Militares en Nueva España," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, VI, No. 19, 31-34.

6. Miguel Costansó, *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Marques de Croix, Virrey, Governador, y Capitán General de la Nueva España y por dirección del*

*Ilustrísimo Señor D. Joseph de Gálvez, del Consejo y Cámara de S.M. en el Supremo de Indias, Intendente de Exercito, Visitador General de Este Reyno* (México, 1770), p. 9; "Reporte de la Junta, en que se trató de la expedición de Monterey por Mar, y Tierra," San Blas, May 16, 1768, MS, Huntington Library, GA 419; Herbert I. Priestly, *José de Gálvez; Visitor General of New Spain, 1765-1771* (Berkeley, 1916), p. 248.

7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 115-116.

8. Francisco Palou to the Guardian and College of the San Francisco, Tepic, October 12, 1767, Academy of American Franciscan History (AAFH); Palou to the Guardian and Council of the College of San Fernando, Guadalajara, October 25, 1767, AAFH; Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara, 1929), I, 289-301.

9. Priestly, *José de Gálvez*, p. 254; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, I, 289-291, ignores the contribution of the *junta*.

10. Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*, (Glendale, 1967), p. 62.

11. Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, (New York, 1916) p. 86; Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*, p. 62 n; Calderón Quijano, "Ingenieros," p. 31.

12. Palou to Father Guardian, San Javier Biaundo, December 10, 1768, AAFH; Palou to Father Guardian, Loreto, March 4, 1769, AAFH; Palou to Father Guardian, Loreto, April 16, 1769, AAFH; Francisco Palou, O.F.M., *Historical Memoirs of New California*, ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), I, 30-78; Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Junípero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington, 1959), I, 266-269; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), pp. 219-223.

13. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II, 293.

14. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II, 14.

15. *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (September, 1957), 218.

16. Costansó's cartographical precision is demonstrated in three maps he constructed relating to the Alta California expedition: "Plano de la Costa del Sur Correxido hasta la Canal de Santa Barbara en el ano de 1769," showing the California coast from San Lucas north to Cape Mendocino, executed in watercolor; "Carta reducida del Oceano Asiático nombrado por los Navegantes Mar del Sur, que comprehende la Costa Oriental, y Occidental de la Peninsula de California" (1770), including 139 place names and much detail; and "Plano del Fondeadero, or Surgidero de la Bahia, y Puerto de Monterey, situado por 36 grados, y 40 minutos de Latitud Norte, y por 249 grados 36 minutos de Longitud, contados desde el Meridiano de Tenerife," watercolor, with superb representation of terrain. The first of these three, although not signed, is certainly

Costansó's work, by handwriting and style. All three are in the Servicio Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid; and reproduced in *Cartografía de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1957), Carpeta II.

17. *Estudio Histórico del Cuerpo de Ingenieros del Ejército*, (Madrid, 1911), I, 11-12.

18. Portugués, *Colección, passim*; *Ordenanzas de S.M. para el servicio del Cuerpo de Ingenieros en Guarnición, y Campaña* (Madrid, 1768); *Ordenanza que S.M. manda observar en el servicio del Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros* (Madrid, 1803).

19. *Compendio histórico publicado al cumplirse el Segundo Centenario de la creación del Cuerpo y dedicado a sus clases e individuos de tropa* (Segunda edición; Madrid, 1918), p. 33.

20. AGN, *Indiferente de Guerra* 236.

21. AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 3002.

22. AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 2998, 3002; "Lista general de los oficiales que componen el Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros del Ejército en España, y División de Indias," *Memorial de Ingenieros del Ejercito*, V (Mayo, 1908), 347-351.

23. "Diario de la Expedición . . . desde Loreto a San Diego . . .," in Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, 1955), I, 38-123.

24. Bancroft, *History of California*, I., 141; "Journey of the Land Expedition from San Diego to Monterey," Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II., 109-260.

25. See "Diario del viage que haze por tierra D.<sup>N</sup> Gaspar Portolá . . .," *Academy of Pacific Coast History: Publications*, I., 31-89.

26. Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *History of California* (New York, 1915) I., 174.

27. Bancroft, *History of California*, I., 38.

28. Bancroft, *History of California*, I., 141.

29. J. Gregg Lane, "Annals of Los Angeles," *The California Historical Society Quarterly*, XIII (September, 1934), 198.

30. Portolá, "Diario del viage," *APCH: Publications*, I., 84-89.

31. Costansó, "Diario Histórico," *APCH: Publications*, I., 151-157; Chapman, *The History of California*, p. 227.

32. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, p. 99.

33. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II., 299.

34. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV., 783, states that he became governor of Puebla nine years after he left California. This should be in 1779.

Rockwell D Hunt, *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Stockton, 1950, p. 43), gives 1777 as the date of his inauguration as governor

35. AGI, *Mexico* 2472; AGN, *Historia* 568.
36. AGN, *Virreyes* 142.
37. AGI, *Mexico* 1525 and 2472; AGN, *Historia* 477, *Casa de Moneda* 229, *Obras Públicas* 2, 5, 6, and 36, *Real Hacienda*, 218, *Provincias Internas* 121, and *Ayuntamiento* 202; AGM, *Guerra Moderna* 7272; Ernesto de la Torre, ed., *Instrucción Reservada que dió el Virrey don Miguel de Azanza a su sucesor don Félix de Marquina* (México, 1960), p. 96; Miguel Constanzó, "Elementos de Geometría," 1785, MS, José Porrúa Turanzas Editorial.
38. María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola, María Luísa Rodríguez Baena and Concepción Pajabon Parody, *Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, Virrey de Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1967), pp. 413-415.
39. *Pública Vindicación del Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Santa Fé de Guanaajuato* (México, 1960), p. 70; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1886), IV, 134 n.
40. AGM (Segovia), *Expediente personal* 1813; AGN, *Historia* 568.
41. AGM (Segovia), *Expediente personal* 1813; "Lista general de los oficiales," *Memorial de Ingenieros*, p. 347.
42. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), I, 45-50.
43. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, I, 50-51; Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, p. 156.
44. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, p. 159; Irving Berdine Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (New York, 1965), pp. 96-104; Chapman, *A History of California*, pp. 297-298.
45. Bobb, *The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli* (Austin, 1962), pp. 169-171; Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 223-240.
46. Junípero Serra to Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, August 22, 1778, *Writings of Junípero Serra*, III., 254.
47. Manuel P. Servín, "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVII (June, 1965), 133-149.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 605.
50. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.
51. "Copia de las condiciones propuestas á S.E. por el Ingeniero 2<sup>o</sup> Miguel Costanzo p.<sup>a</sup> las contratas de artesanos . . .," MS, Bancroft Library, CA-55.
52. "Conde de Revilla Gigedo al Gobernador de Calif.<sup>a</sup>" MS, Bancroft Library, CA-55; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.
53. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.



54. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 616.
55. Florian Francis Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *CHSQ*, XLI (March, 1962), 29-32.
56. "Informe de Sor D. Miguel Costanso al Emo Sor Virrey de Branciforte sobre el proyecto de fortificar los presidios de la N. California," Mexico, 17 de Octubre de 1794, Bancroft Library, M-M 401.
57. Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *passim*.



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# Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960

By GEORGE CHU

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A CENTURY AGO, Chinese penetrated all parts of California. They mined for gold in the Mother Lode, and laid the tracks for the Transcontinental Railroad in the High Sierra. But more importantly, they furnished most of the "squat labor" for the farms of the fertile Central Valley, making California's agriculture possible in the nineteenth century. By 1900, however, they were gone from almost all rural areas. Anti-Chinese riots throughout the state in the mid-1880's had driven them away from small towns into the comparative refuge of large-city Chinatowns; the exclusion laws of 1882 and 1892 had not only excluded Chinese immigration from California, but in effect, had stopped the agricultural labor supply. As those Chinese already in the fields died or returned to China, the operators of California's giant farms turned to other races to fill the labor vacuum — first Japanese, later Hindus, Filipinos, and Mexicans.<sup>1</sup> In 1960, a little over 96 percent of the Chinese in the state lived in cities.<sup>2</sup> Except for one small group in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Chinese in California, farmers for generations in China, had become an urban people.

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Part of this article is based on personal interviews and observations in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta over a three month period during the winter of 1966. Many people in the Delta, most of whom requested anonymity, have made this paper possible. I especially wish to thank Mr. Ardle Pierce, editor of the *River News-Herald*, for giving me access to his files of the *Sacramento River News*, the *River News*, and the *Isleton Journal*. Prof. Stanford M. Lyman, now in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nevada, Reno, offered many helpful suggestions and comments on the manuscript. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for all lapses in scholarship and prose.

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The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, one of the richest agricultural areas in California, occupies a triangular, sea-level depression in the central Coast Range. Unlike most deltas, which broaden seaward, the compound delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers converges to a single outlet. The entire drainage from the Central Valley funnels through this opening into a series of bays and out the Golden Gate to the Pacific Ocean. Both rivers branch off into many distributaries on entering the delta basin, though most of the Sacramento River manages to stay in a single channel on the northern side of the triangle.<sup>3</sup> Along its banks, about halfway between Sacramento and the outlet near Antioch, are a number of Chinatowns. They represent the last concentration of Chinese in rural California.

A single crop, asparagus, delayed the urbanization of the Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta by about fifty years. When other Chinese were leaving farms in the Central Valley, a new wave of immigrants invaded the Delta, drawn by the magnet of asparagus. When Chinatowns were disappearing from small towns throughout the state, old Chinatowns on the Sacramento were being rebuilt, and a new one was founded.

Why one vegetable should account for the survival of Chinese communities on the Sacramento has to do with the peculiar organization of agriculture in the Delta. Everything that happened to California agriculture — land monopolization, a system of land tenancy comparable with feudal European traditions, the dependence on a succession of laborers who have always been landless, migratory, and nonwhite — took place here. But in addition, Delta agriculture developed a unique twist of its own. Despite its diversity of races, the Delta is no melting pot. Instead, it produced the ultimate discrimination: the specialization of races in separate, well-defined jobs. Ironically, the Chinese themselves helped to shape the institutions that later forced them to leave the Delta.

## I

Forty-niners taking the water route up the Sacramento to the gold fields found the Delta a tidal swamp, malarial, overgrown with tule, the banks along its many miles of waterways covered with dense



stands of willow and oak. High tides at the outlet into Suisun Bay backed water over half the delta basin; river floods, especially during times of extreme tides and westerly winds, submerged it entirely.<sup>4</sup> Early "tule hoppers" — American farmers who settled the natural levees along main water highways — tried to keep back flood waters by building small, so-called "shoestring" levees, but these never kept out much more than high tides. In 1852 and 1853, one visionary landowner constructed twelve miles of levee on the northern end of Grand Island in an impressive, but futile, attempt to save his fields from flooding. Flood waters simply came in from the southern end of the island.<sup>5</sup>

This farmer was one of the first to use Chinese in levee building, employing an international crew of Chinese, Indian, and Hawaiian laborers for the construction of his levee,<sup>6</sup> but here again, he was ahead of his time. The main force of Chinese levee workers did not come to the Delta until around 1868, when county supervisors organized reclamation districts and started major projects.<sup>7</sup> In that year also, the state removed the acreage limit (first 320 acres, later 640 acres) on ownership of swamp and overflowed lands. As a result, large tracts of land rapidly came under the control of land agents and corporations. George D. Roberts, a director of the Tide Land Reclamation Company, somehow acquired 250,000 acres between 1868 and 1871.<sup>8</sup> Another speculator took up a tract of land embracing four townships.<sup>9</sup> A shocked legislature reimposed the 640-acre limit in 1874, but by then, it was too late — all the land was gone. Reclamation became the main concern of the corporations, whose formation and continued existence depended on the availability of laborers willing to work in the malarial swamps for small wages.<sup>10</sup> The Chinese fitted these requirements nicely.

The use of Chinese laborers for the reclamation of the "tule lands" had been proposed as early as 1852.<sup>11</sup> At that time, however, they were up at the gold mines, like almost everyone else. Angry white miners drove them away from the richest mining districts in the mid-fifties, and the abandoned surface mines they inherited began to play out by the early 1860's, even for the meticulous Chinese miners. Construction work on the Transcontinental Railroad absorbed their energies for a time, but by the late sixties, the Chinese were on the labor market <sup>12</sup>

Besides being numerous and not too particular about working conditions, the Chinese offered a special advantage: they worked under a contract system for Chinese "bosses." Recruiting of individuals was unnecessary: the employer negotiated directly with the bosses, who did all the hiring and firing. No troublesome book-keeping was involved for the employer: the bosses kept the accounts of each man, collected their wages as the work progressed, and paid them after deducting for debts. And since the contractors were merchants and businessmen making their profit from the privilege of supplying the men, the employer was not faced with the problem of boarding the workers. The Chinese lived in "camps" with their own cooks, the bosses furnishing all their requirements. The employer supplied only the tools needed for work; sometimes not even that was necessary.<sup>13</sup>

Under the supervision of the bosses, the Chinese went to work. Using only shovels and wheelbarrows, working in waist-deep water, they dammed sloughs, cut drainage ditches, built floodgates, and piled up levees. Some two hundred Chinese built forty-nine miles of levee around Sherman Island.<sup>14</sup> The same number worked on Twitchell and Brannan islands for the Tide Land Reclamation Company.<sup>15</sup> Grand Island was at last fully enclosed with a levee twenty-nine-and-one-half miles long.<sup>16</sup> In strengthening the alluvial natural levees, the method was simply shovelling and dumping. In peat areas, particularly the San Joaquin section of the Delta, the Chinese cut blocks of peat from the ground, partially dried them in the sun, laid two parallel walls with the blocks, and filled the interior with sand from wheelbarrows.<sup>17</sup> Since wages were figured from the cubic yards of dirt moved, the bosses scrambled over the levees measuring the work completed, sometimes correcting the engineer's calculations.<sup>18</sup>

Ethnic specialization in the Delta began, innocently enough, with the introduction of the Fresno scraper, a horse-drawn drag shovel, in levee work. The Chinese were unfamiliar with the animals, although they were credited with the invention of "tule shoes," a snowshoe-like contraption designed to keep the horses from sinking into the marshy ground. Moreover, they were too small to handle the heavy scrapers, which had to be manhandled around tree stumps.

White drifters, Irish and Swedes, living in separate camps from the Orientals, did the scraper work.<sup>19</sup>

The finished levees were usually from three to five feet high, ten to fifteen feet wide at the base, five feet wide at the crest, and as many miles long as it took to encircle an island.<sup>20</sup> Despite these impressive dimensions, the levees built by the Chinese eroded easily and gave way before minor floods. Furthermore, Chinese hand labor could not keep up with a river level that rose continuously — deposits of sediment from hydraulic mining upriver in the Sierra foothills raised the river bed, and the completed levees prevented the normal overflow of water upon bottom lands. The permanently reclaimed Delta, with levees wide enough for automobile traffic along their tops, and with rivers flowing above the level of the land, was only made possible with the use of machinery. The increasing use of clamshell dredges and mechanical ditchers after 1876 made the wheelbarrow brigades obsolete, although the Chinese were still used in places beyond the reach of the giant machines.<sup>21</sup>

No one, not even the Chinese now living in the Delta, knows who the levee builders were, or whether any of them ever stayed to farm the land they had helped reclaim. The bosses recruited them from Chinatown boarding houses in Sacramento, Stockton, and San Francisco.<sup>22</sup> When the job was finished, the workers probably returned to the city to await other contracts. By the 1890's, their work was done, and the Chinese levee builders left the Delta, their names lost to history.

## II

Levees completed and fields drained, the reclamation operators leased the land to tenant farmers, leasing being much more profitable than subdividing and selling. Even before the coming of the speculators, however, farm tenantry in the Delta was already a way of life. In the early 1860's, Chinese had drifted into the Delta to work in the fruit orchards that, at this time, formed a continuous strip along the banks of the Sacramento from Freeport to Isleton.<sup>23</sup> Before long, they were leasing ranches of their own, some of them growing truck vegetables, including all sweet potatoes on the market.<sup>24</sup> Leasing was more convenient, more profitable, and less bother for the land-

lords, who had no desire to live in the supposedly miasma-filled Delta. Besides, the Chinese bosses controlled the labor supply by the 1870's; it was impossible to get help otherwise. By 1880, practically all the best lands were under lease.<sup>25</sup>

The Chinese composed the predominant race of tenants, as well as the predominant race of laborers. Portuguese from the Azores and Italians ran a close second. The Orientals and the southern Europeans lived in the unhealthy, newly reclaimed areas; the "northern Europeans" stayed on the high ground, away from the levees, where a more "normal" type of farming prevailed. The whites leasing from the reclamation companies soon tired of "living behind a levee" and subleased to Chinese.<sup>26</sup> At any rate, it made no difference who farmed the land. Under the crop share system, the most common arrangement, the tenant became little more than an employee growing crops on contract. The tenant got a share of the crop; the owner furnished horses and implements, maintained the levees, and marketed the crops. In addition, the owner specified the crops to be grown.<sup>27</sup>

The reclamation companies had not invented the farm tenancy system, but they developed it to a high degree. Maximum profits called for maximum crops: the operating premise was that each race grew certain crops best. Thus, Portuguese grew most of the truck vegetables; Italians raised beans and barley; Chinese worked on the fruit ranches or raised potatoes and onions; Japanese, who came in the 1890's, also specialized in potatoes and onions, as well as celery, asparagus (a minor crop before 1900), and sugar beets.<sup>28</sup> Each island was divided into camps, each camp — and race — growing a different crop. On the camps, the tenants lived in dilapidated frame houses, built in two stories to give the occupants some place of refuge during floods.<sup>29</sup>

Rotation of crops meant rotating the tenant.<sup>30</sup> Italians and barley always followed Chinese and potatoes. Complete changes of race on an island were common. Italians had once raised beans on Grand Island. Then asparagus became profitable, and Orientals moved in for the crop, displacing the Italians, who moved away to the San Joaquin, presumably to grow more beans.<sup>31</sup> The whole system, according to one contemporary writer, required either "a versatile

tenant, or a year-to-year lease.”<sup>32</sup> Not trusting the versatility of tenants, the landowners insisted on nonrenewable yearly leases.

The Chinese carried crop specialization one step further. Chinese from one district in China, Chungshan District, specialized in orchard work; Chinese from another district, the so-called “Sze Yaps” from Toishan District, grew the potatoes and onions.<sup>33</sup>

The Chinese in California are people of another drainage basin: the Pearl River Delta in Kwangtung Province in southeastern China. An exodus of Chinese from the coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung began in the middle of the nineteenth century, triggered in part by a population explosion that had tipped the delicate balance between land and man in China. Apparently because of their proximity to seaports, and because of their traditions of travel along maritime trade routes to Southeast Asia, only Chinese from these two provinces migrated overseas. Practically all of the Fukienese and most of the Kwangtungnese who emigrated went to Southeast Asia.<sup>34</sup> A small part of the total flow of refugees landed in California, attracted by the discovery of gold in 1848. All of these originated from the delta formed by the West, North, and Pearl rivers near Canton.<sup>35</sup>

Kwangtung Province is politically subdivided into districts, but a more real division is the language. Although most of the people speak Cantonese, local variations in pronunciation are so great as to almost constitute separate dialects. The Cantonese spoken in Canton City is the arbitrarily chosen “standard.” The people of Chungshan District, about thirty miles south of the provincial capital, speak a Cantonese closely resembling the city standard. On the other hand, the speech of the Sze Yaps is almost totally incomprehensible to the city man. They live in four districts adjoining Chungshan District to the west. Hence, the name “Sze Yap” — “Four Districts” — for this speech group. The Sze Yaps make up the bulk of Chinese immigrants to California. Except in the Sacramento River Delta, Chungshan people have always been a minority in Chinese communities in the continental United States.

This, then, was the situation on the Sacramento River in the 1880’s. Travellers down the river saw squalid waterside Chinatowns spaced every hundred yards or so.<sup>36</sup> Chungshan Chinese were firmly



entrenched upriver in the fruit district, with Courtland at its center. Further downstream, around Rio Vista, the Sze Yaps had their potato patches. People from a one-clan village in Toishan District comprised most of the residents of Rio Vista's Chinatown. When news spread by word-of-mouth of fortunes to be made on the Sacramento River, a few Chinese from several villages near this single-clan village in China joined the Toy clan in Rio Vista.<sup>37</sup>

In the nineties, the number of Chinese in the Delta decreased sharply. When no more Chinese came to take the place of those returning home to China, California farmers finally felt the effects of the Chinese exclusion law of 1882. In late 1890, Rio Vista's *Sacramento River News* gloomily predicted that all Chinese would be gone from the river within a few years.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the river Chinatowns remained in existence, housing some of the Japanese laborers being recruited to replace the Chinese. The Chinese population of some of the Chinatowns even increased during the mid-nineties. In 1894, the same newspaper complained that tong hatchetmen were using Isleton's Chinese quarter as a temporary refuge from police raids in San Francisco and other cities.<sup>39</sup> The Chinese were building a joss house,<sup>40</sup> though what connection this had with the hatchetmen was not explained. Outside of these brief periods of excitement, the nineties passed slowly. Potatoes declined in importance in the Sacramento River districts when the soil became too diseased for this crop, and potato farming gradually shifted over to the San Joaquin section of the Delta. When the canning process for asparagus was improved, however, this period of relative inactivity suddenly came to an end.<sup>41</sup>

### III

Overnight, asparagus became the money-making crop on the Sacramento. Asparagus canneries sprang up in Rio Vista, Isleton, Walnut Grove, and other river towns; the acreage given over to asparagus increased yearly from around 1900 to the 1920's. Isleton and Walnut Grove, both stagnating in the nineteenth century when river traffic took the shortcut through Steamboat Slough and by-passed them, came to life.

The Chinese returned to the Delta, some of them descendants of

those who had farmed here in the 1880's, but most of them newcomers. The 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, which destroyed its Chinatown, provided a share of the new immigrants.<sup>42</sup> According to local legend, Sun Yatsen, a native of Chungshan District, once visited Courtland on one of his trips to America to enlist support from the overseas Chinese for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in China. If so, the Father of the Chinese Republic indirectly caused another wave of Chinese immigration to California and to the Delta, when refugees fled the chaos in Kwangtung Province following the 1911 Revolution.<sup>43</sup> It was true that the Chinese were not coming in as great numbers as before: the exclusion laws had stopped almost all legal ways for them to enter the country, and many were illegal immigrants. Still, they were especially welcomed by Delta growers, who had found Japanese labor a disappointment.<sup>44</sup>

The Oriental quarters of Walnut Grove and Isleton swelled as Chinese, Japanese, and later, Hindus, came to work on asparagus. Unlike Courtland and Rio Vista, which had a more or less permanent population of fruit workers or potato farmers, the population in Isleton and Walnut Grove was transient. Few workers stayed in town for more than a few weeks at a time before Chinese and Japanese bosses distributed them to areas where labor was needed. The only permanent residents were the bosses, who made up most of the merchant class.<sup>45</sup>

One more word should be said about the boss system. By this time, it had become traditional, absolutely essential for the functioning of Delta agriculture. The Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos, and Mexicans who followed the Chinese — all worked under boss or *patrón* systems of their own, but none of these were as highly developed as the Chinese contract system. No one in the Delta asked what was wrong with it; few wondered where the bosses got their laborers or how they controlled them.

The bosses were the local representatives of a system of control that touched the life of almost every Chinese in nineteenth century California, from the gold mines of the Mother Lode to the Transcontinental Railroad in the Sierra Nevada, from the wheat fields of the northern Sacramento Valley to the tule lands of the Delta. In debt to Chinese merchants and labor brokers who advanced him his

passage money, the Chinese sojourner came under the influence of the system as soon as he stepped on the boat to California. It was voluntary in the sense that no one told him to get on the boat in the first place, but outside of this, it was in many ways similar to the notorious coolie trade to Peru and the West Indies. The system of control extended through a complicated network of merchant and district associations, clan organizations, and secret societies to the bosses in the field. Enthusiastically welcomed by white employers as the "perfect organization of labor," expounded by Chinese entrepreneurs as a paternal, benevolent institution, the system put the Chinese to work under debt bondage. Far from home in a hostile land, dependent on those of his countrymen who could speak the language, the laborer submitted to the system with the patient realization that things were infinitely worse in China. The system fed and sheltered him, determined when and where he would work, collected and paid him his wages, conducted gambling halls, brothels, and opium parlors, and took his wages back again. And when he became too old for work, it put him in poorhouses, and shipped his bones back to China when he died.<sup>46</sup>

The system had gradually disappeared in other parts of California when the Chinese became more mobile. In the Delta, however, because it was so much a part of agricultural organization, some of the more unpleasant aspects of the system survived well into the twentieth century. This was the era of the "wide-open towns," which Delta residents remember with nostalgia. The system could work only if the Chinese was perpetually in debt, so brothels and gambling halls, as well as poorhouses, operated for his benefit. Opium and its derivatives, morphine and heroin, were readily available. Some Chinese tried to get away from the system by banding together into potato "syndicates,"<sup>47</sup> and hired themselves out directly, but with the asparagus boom, the boss system continued. Six asparagus canneries operated between Courtland and the mouth of the Sacramento around 1910, and one Chinese firm contracted for the canning work and supplied all the Chinese employees.<sup>48</sup>

The river Chinatowns flourished as merchants, restaurant operators, gamblers, and others moved in to profit from the asparagus boom. Walnut Grove became a way station on the opium run to Sacramento.<sup>49</sup> At some indeterminate time, perhaps in the nineties, the

Bing Kong Tong, one of the more militant secret societies in California, established itself in Isleton and Walnut Grove; the branch in Walnut Grove was supposedly the largest on the Pacific Coast.<sup>50</sup> Though no Chinese speaks about this organization, the Bing Kong's connection with gambling and narcotics at this time would appear likely, since they were then engaged in similar activities in San Francisco and Sacramento.<sup>51</sup>

In 1915, the last Delta town, a completely Chinese village, was founded. Fires repeatedly plagued the river Chinatowns. Any fires started in one house of the packed, wooden communities inevitably destroyed the entire block of buildings. A fire in October burned down Walnut Grove's Chinatown,<sup>52</sup> and some of its Chinese moved about a mile upriver to a place called Lockeport, apparently little more than a boat landing with a few packing and storage sheds. They received little attention, all the publicity going to the new Chinatown being built in Walnut Grove. It was some years before newspapers mentioned the existence of Chinese at Lockeport, or as it was later called, Locke. The Chinese who moved to Locke were dissatisfied with the policies of the owners of the land on which Walnut Grove's Chinatown stood,<sup>53</sup> but evidently, district loyalties were also involved. Before the fire, both Sze Yap and Chungshan Chinese lived in Walnut Grove. Only Chungshan Chinese moved to Locke, however; no Sze Yap has ever lived there.

Locke had a missionary center in the 1920's and thirties.<sup>54</sup> According to the missionaries, Albert Schweitzer had buried himself in the moral blackness of Africa, but here, twenty-five miles south of Sacramento, was a community where "vice and degradation [were just as] disgustingly apparent." Locke was one-half a mile square, with sixty-five houses and eight brothels with white prostitutes. The population of about six hundred had "only thirty-one Christians." The missionaries had poor luck; after ten years, only four boys could be persuaded to attend the mission school. Then in 1929, "the Chinese leaders developed a sudden antagonism to the Center and its workers and protested against the Christian influence by opening a joss house. The attendants brought out a ceremonial lion of wood, paper and silk and paraded with it through the alleys of the village. Chinese brothel women from another town, dressed in red satin with gold braid trimmings, walked in the rear of the procession. This demon-

stration made a profound impression upon the boys and the work of winning them had to be started over again." The missionaries somewhat uncharitably condemned the men of the town for their indifference, for their use of women, sometimes with babies strapped to their backs, to pull plows, and for their open practice of polygamy. Because they did not understand the Chinese, because they were trying to convert the exploited instead of the exploiters, because they were intolerant, the missionaries lost the battle, and with it, the war.

#### IV

Starting with the 1920's, the river Chinatowns became parasitic communities feeding on the wages of the Filipino and Mexican laborers being imported in increasing numbers to fill the needs of an ever labor-hungry agriculture. The towns also served another function as wintering quarters for some workers, mostly Chinese. All crops require labor for short periods only. The asparagus season lasted for about a hundred days from March to June.<sup>55</sup> After the last asparagus had been canned, the worker was faced with the choice of migrating or hibernating. Pears and peaches in the fruit district ripened around this time and occupied his attentions for a while; labor bosses also contracted workers for the Alaskan salmon canneries.<sup>56</sup> But for several months of the year, the laborer was idle. Whether he hibernated in the Delta towns or in the cities was immaterial; the chances were good that he would again be in debt before the next season. One way or another, the merchants and bosses made their money. When fire (rumored to have been started by someone who had lost several thousand dollars in a gambling establishment the night before) destroyed a three-block section of Walnut Grove's Chinatown in the winter of 1937, sixty to seventy safes stood above the ashes of the buildings.<sup>57</sup> If nothing else, this represented a considerable investment in safes.

This happy state of affairs did not last long. Asparagus production reached the limit of its expansion in the 1920's, when almost all land had been planted to asparagus except the relatively expensive orchard lands. Continual planting with asparagus exhausted the soil, and the crop shifted over to fresher lands on the San Joaquin. Faster means of transportation hastened the decline of the canneries: aspara-





**TO BE AN  
AMERICAN  
WAS HARD...**



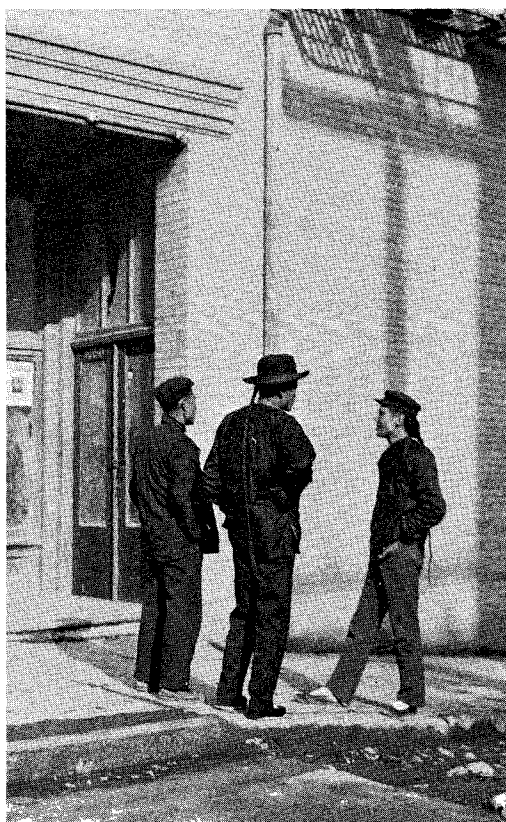


**FOR ALMOST ALL OF US...**



## YOUNG AND OLD

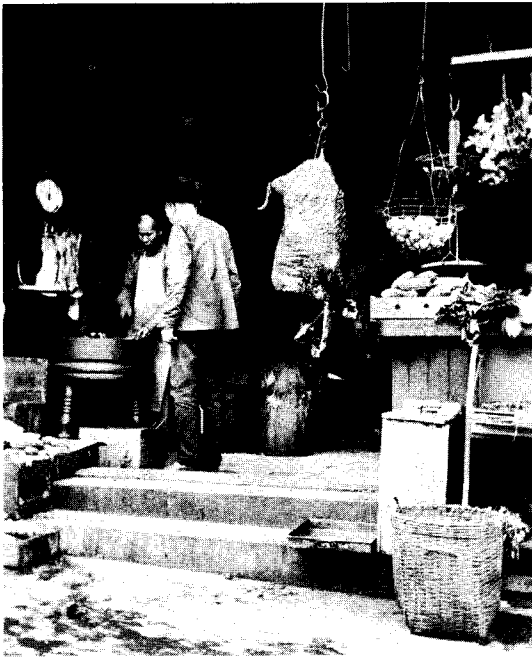
*the first years  
in America  
were very hard . . .  
everything was strange  
the food  
the land  
the language, the customs,  
the houses, the people  
all were strange . . .  
our neighbors were  
different, so different  
we even seemed different  
to each other . . .  
and in truth,  
we were not welcome  
in this strange land  
America*



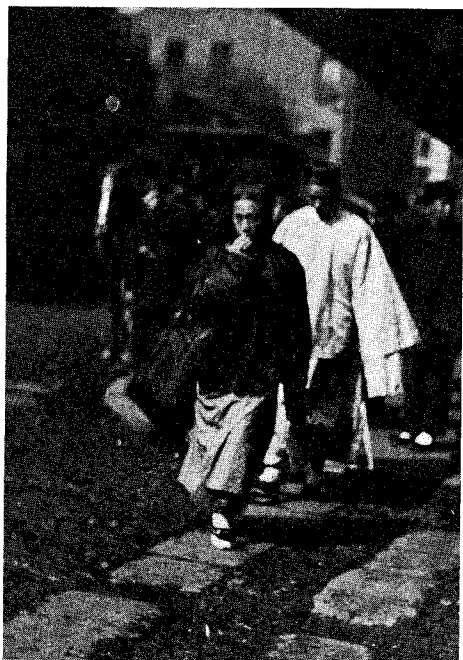
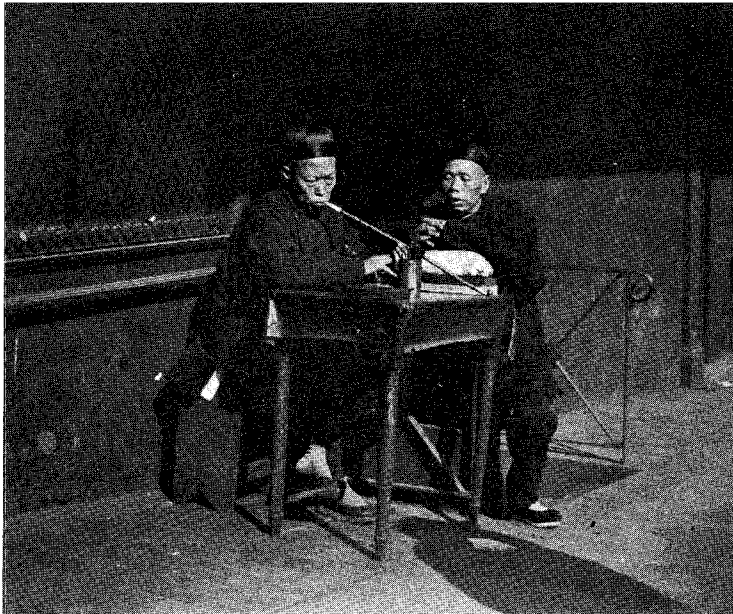




**HOW COULD WE BECOME AMERICANS?**



*We needed our customs  
our languages  
our own dear foods . . .  
we needed our clothes  
our ways of doing  
things  
we needed each other  
in ways that were familiar  
to each of us . . .  
We needed  
your esteem  
we needed your affection  
we needed your help  
as all was strange to us . . .  
Everything was at once  
both strange and similar  
So many things were so different,  
so many were so much the same.*





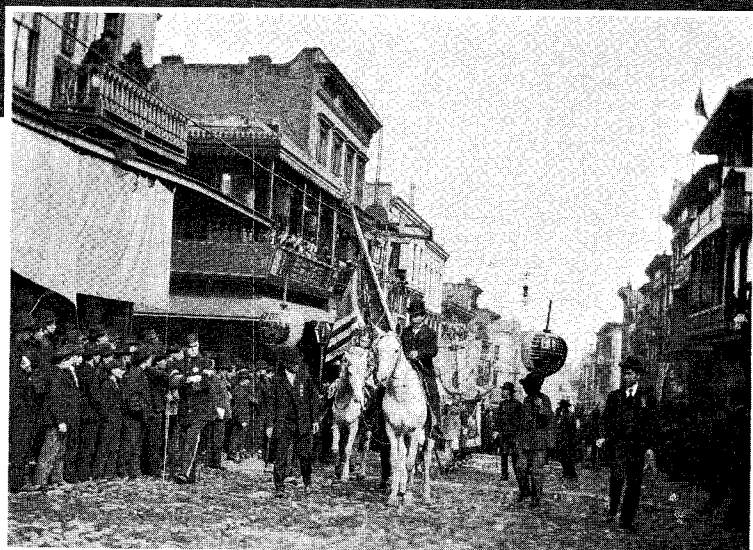
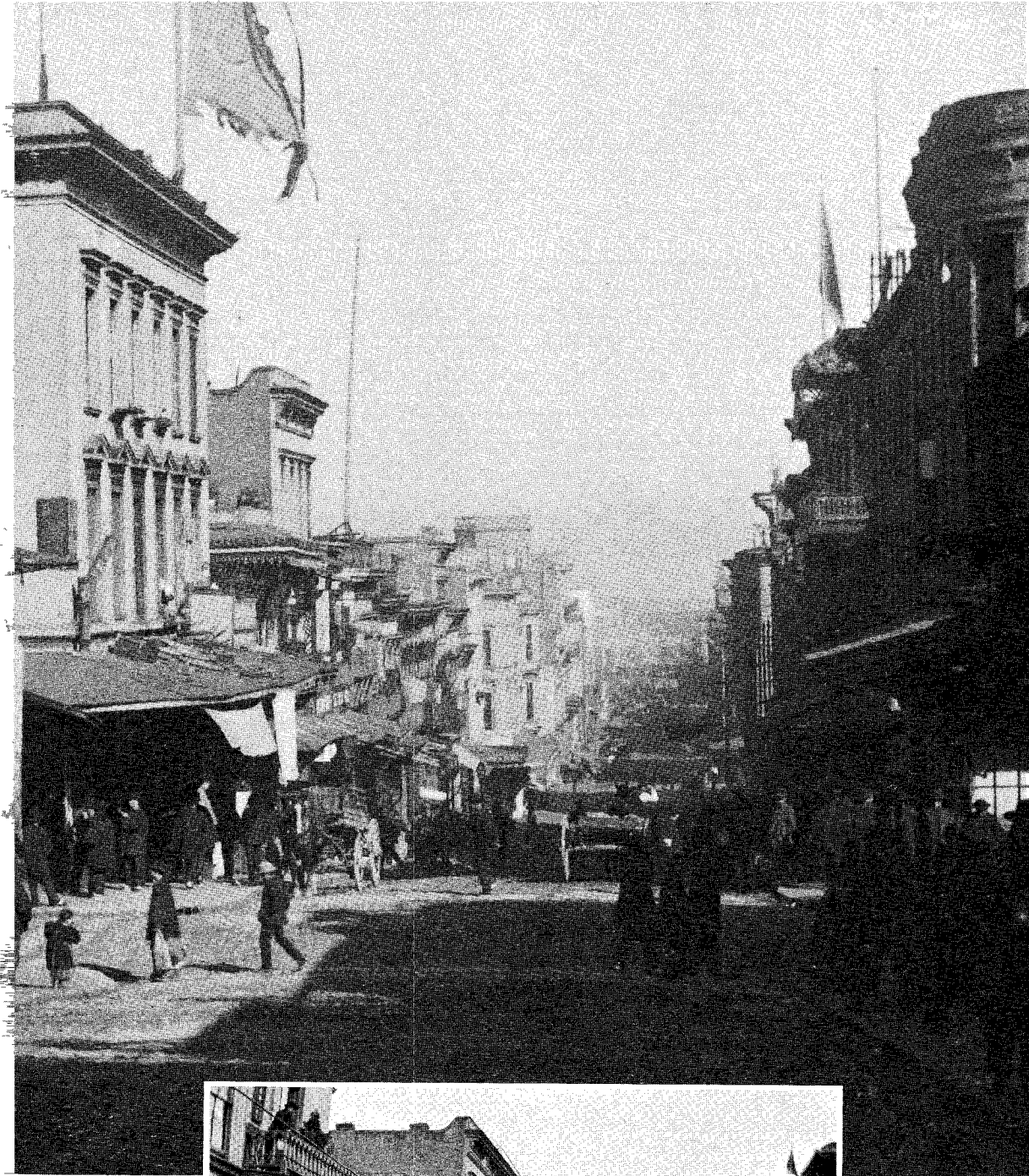


*Your streets had to become  
our streets  
we needed to know  
we were at home there  
it is so strange . . .  
to you  
these were our streets  
you even spoke of them  
as China Town, but . . .*

*for us they were always  
your streets  
for all of the things we  
did to make them our streets  
were the very things  
one by one . . .  
we gave up  
to become Americans*

R.A.W.









**IS THAT HOW YOU BECOME AN AMERICAN?**

gus could now be trucked to larger, more diversified city canneries. In 1929, ten canneries operated near Walnut Grove, Isleton, and Rio Vista; there were three in 1950; none in 1955.<sup>58</sup> The Sacramento Chinatowns gradually declined as their people left them.

Rio Vista's Chinatown was the first to die, though its passing had little to do with asparagus. It had been dying for some time, when some of its potato specialists followed the crop to the San Joaquin in the first decades of the twentieth century,<sup>59</sup> although it still had enough people for Chinese New Year celebrations until the First World War. What killed it finally was its one-clan status. A one-clan Chinatown must be continually infused with new blood, because its members are forbidden to marry within the clan.<sup>60</sup> Young Chinese, members of a more mobile and more sophisticated generation, saw little future in asparagus and even less reason for moving to Rio Vista.

Courtland's Chinatown was next. When fire burned down the Chinese quarter in 1930, the owners of the land refused to renew the leases, so the Chinese moved to Locke and Walnut Grove.<sup>61</sup> Once, there had been so many Chinese in Courtland that the Chinese in the Delta had called the Sacramento River, the "Courtland River," in letters home to China. Now, only a few decaying buildings are left of what was once a sizeable Chinese settlement.

The asparagus Chinatowns — Locke, Walnut Grove, Isleton — were the last to go. Another period of prosperity occurred during the Second World War, but shortly afterwards, the second generation moved out. The generation of Chinese camp workers became too old to be useful, and the Chinese bosses, with no one to boss, closed up shop and moved away to city Chinatowns. Japanese and Filipinos took over Walnut Grove's Chinatown. A brief flurry of asparagus activity in 1950 attracted the last Chinese to Isleton, but within a few years, the town, once the center of production for 90 percent of the world's asparagus, was dwindling away. All the river Chinatowns are slums, but Isleton's Chinatown, rebuilt after a fire in 1926 with "modern fireproof buildings,"<sup>62</sup> has the added curse of being non-picturesque. Tourists, who are beginning to invade the Delta on summer weekends, have devoted their attentions to the much more quaint village of Locke, where most of the Chinese in the Delta have stayed.

Only a few hundred Chinese remain in the Delta in what are

essentially communities of old men. They are the last of their kind, empire builders in their own way, most of whom never found the fortunes they had come so far to seek. They stay here, perhaps, because this place is so much like their homes in the Pearl River Delta. The landscape, the rhythm of the crops, the slow, unhurried pace of life, are similar. But that is not all. The Pearl River Delta had one of the highest rates of land tenancy in all China; interest rates on loans to stay alive were even higher.<sup>63</sup> Pagodas and pawnshops had been the most conspicuous features of the Pearl River Delta landscape; the joss houses and the poorhouses of Chinatowns were their counterparts in the Sacramento River Delta. To have come so far, only to find this place so much like home, is the final irony.

## NOTES

1. Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California," in U. S. Congress, Senate, *Hearings Before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on Education and Labor*, 76th Cong., 3rd Sess. (Washington, 1940); Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston, 1939); also see R. D. McKenzie, "The Oriental Finds a Job," *Survey Graphic*, LVI (May 1, 1926), 151.

2. California, Department of Industrial Relations, *Californians of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Ancestry* (San Francisco, 1965).

3. John Thompson, "The Settlement Geography of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1957).

4. Thompson, 13.

5. California, *Report of the Commissioner of Public Works* (Sacramento, 1895), 14.

6. Julian Dana, *The Sacramento: River of Gold* (New York, 1939), 160.

7. Thompson gives a good discussion of the legislation involved during the reclamation period.

8. Thompson, 201, 226.

9. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Document 633 (Washington, 1911), 330.

10. Testimony of George D. Roberts, U. S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Report 689 (Washington, 1877), 436; Tide Land Reclamation Company, *Fresh Water Tide Lands of California* (San Francisco, 1869), 19.

11. Annual Message of Governor John McDougal, January 7, 1852, quoted in Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), 136.
12. Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880* (Madison, 1963).
13. Testimony of George D. Roberts.
14. Tide Land Reclamation Company, 25.
15. Tide Land Reclamation Company, 42.
16. Dana, 163; *Commissioner of Public Works*, 14.
17. William J. Rogers, "The Delta Story," *Stockton Record* (July 2-July 28, 1951).
18. Testimony of George D. Roberts.
19. Rogers, July 5, 1951.
20. *Commissioner of Public Works*, 12-17.
21. Interview with Delta landowner, November, 1966.
22. Sen. Doc. 633, 17.
23. Sen. Doc. 633, 329.
24. Testimony of George D. Roberts; William O. Russell (ed.), *History of Yolo County, California* (Woodland, California, 1940), 170.
25. Sen. Doc. 633, 325-326.
26. Sen. Doc. 633, 327; Edwin E. Cox, "Farm Tenantry in California," *Commonwealth Club of California Transactions*, XI (1916), 449.
27. Sen. Doc. 633, 334-339; Cox, 448.
28. Sen. Doc. 633, 340-341; Cox, 445.
29. Sen. Doc. 633, 325, 351.
30. Cox, 447; Testimony of J. A. Aggler, California, *Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits* (Sacramento, 1916).
31. Sen. Doc. 633, 339-340.
32. Cox, 447.
33. Personal interviews, 1966.

Unfortunately, there is no standard romanization for Cantonese. I have followed the spelling of place names in maps prepared by the U. S. Army Map Service for the area. A more accurate rendition of the term "Sze Yap" (the most common spelling in the literature on the Chinese in California) may be "Sei Yap," following the Yale romanization system.

34 See, for example, Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (2nd ed., London, 1965)



35. Barth, 9-31.

36. Undated *San Francisco Call* article (probably 1880's or 1890's) in *Bancroft Library Scrapbook No. 21*.

37. Personal interviews, Rio Vista, 1966.

38. *Sacramento River News* (Rio Vista, California), December 19, 1890.

39. *Sacramento River News*, April 13, 1894.

40. A "joss house" is a Chinese temple. Chinese "religion" is primarily an animistic folk religion amalgamated with Buddhist and Taoist gods and beliefs. District and clan organizations, as well as secret societies, sometimes had small shrines with statues of patron deities, and observers occasionally confused these with the more formal temples. The joss house in Isleton, however, was probably a full-fledged temple.

41. Thompson, 340.

42. For example, see the 75th Anniversary Edition of the *River-News Herald* (Rio Vista, January 5, 1966), which published an interview with one Isleton Chinese whose father came after the 1906 earthquake.

43. Personal interviews, 1966.

44. The Japanese were not as tractable as the Chinese. Worse, some of them had become landowners and were farming for themselves. The Japanese became such successful farmers, in fact, that they provoked antialien land legislation.

45. Sen. Doc. 633, 11-12.

46. For example, see Barth, *Bitter Strength*, and Stanford M. Lyman, "The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth-Century America," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961).

47. Rogers, July 11, 1951; *River News* (Rio Vista), December 17, 1921.

These were probably not syndicates in the formal sense of the word. Little capital was needed to get started, the landowner furnishing almost everything.

48. Sen. Doc. 633, 361.

Even in the canneries, ethnic specialization persisted. Chinese trucked the asparagus from the docks to the buildings, washed, sorted and canned it, soldered the cans and sterilized them. Japanese or whites worked in the warehouses, labelling, storing, or shipping the product.

49. *River News*, October 16, 1920.

50. *River News*, November 11, 1937; *Isleton Journal*, November 12, 1937.

51. Both Lyman and Barth discuss Chinese secret societies in California. A

52. *Sacramento Bee*, October 7 and 8, 1915; *Sacramento Union*, October 8, 1915.

53. Personal interviews, 1966.
54. Esther A. Thomas, "A Chinese Town on the Sacramento," *Missionary Review*, LVII (1934), 407-408. Though biased, this is the only eyewitness report of life in a river Chinatown.
55. Sen. Doc. 633, 11.
56. Personal interview with a Chinese who contracted for labor in the 1930's. The Alaskan salmon season overlapped with the Delta asparagus season. This may mean that Delta contractors recruited for both Delta growers and Alaskan canneries.
57. *River News*, November 11, 1937; *Isleton Journal*, November 12, 1937.
58. Thompson, 344.
59. Personal interviews, 1966.
60. Rose Hum Lee, "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (1949), 422-432.
61. *Sacramento Union*, March 14, 1937.
62. *Isleton Journal*, December 3, 1926.
63. Chen Han-seng, *Landlord and Peasant in China* (New York, 1936).



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# State Separation Schemes, 1907-1921

By ROBERTA M. McDOW

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PLANS TO DIVIDE California have blossomed perennially in its history. During the first decade of statehood, the Pico Act sought to carve the Territory of Colorado from what is now San Diego, Imperial, Riverside, Orange, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and parts of Kern and Inyo counties. The Act of 1859 — the Pico Act — was approved by both houses of the state legislature, the governor and two-thirds of the electorate within the boundaries of the proposed territory. Congressional approval was all that was needed to make division a reality. But Congress did not favor the proposal and California remained a single state.<sup>1</sup>

Less well-known are the attempts to divide California from 1907 through 1921. None of these efforts was as successful as the Pico Act, but during these fifteen years more separation sentiment was evident than at any other time since 1859.

Those who propose state division do so to remedy sectional problems. Usually these problems are caused or unsolved because the aggrieved section has either a minority of the state's population or a minority of state legislative representation. Consequently, the Territory of Colorado was proposed by people in the lesser-populated southern section. In 1907 Southern California still trailed Northern California in population, but as the South grew, increased numbers of Northerners thought that division would be advantageous.

The most stalwart division advocate during this period was State Senator Robert N. Bulla. His address to the Sunset Club of Los Angeles in March, 1907, publicly marked the beginning of his leadership. In that speech he analyzed the questions could, should and would the state be divided.<sup>2</sup>

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ROBERTA M. McDOW, who wrote her Master of Arts thesis on the proposals to divide the state of California, received her A. B. and A. M. degrees from the University of the Pacific. Mrs. McDow has already published an article on earlier state separation schemes in *The Pacific Historian*.

Bulla contended that the Act of 1859 was still in force. Therefore, he argued, only Congressional consent was needed to accomplish division.

He also countered the argument of Judge Frank H. Short of Fresno who, several weeks earlier, had cited Section Three, Article Four of the United States Constitution as a deterrent to division. Short asserted that the clause, "but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State;" was independent from the remainder of the section. Therefore, no new state could be made from territory already a part of a state.<sup>3</sup> Bulla declared that the clause was not set apart and did not, then, prevent California's division.

California should be divided, Bulla continued, because Southern Californians wanted a separate, more convenient state government. The new state — Los Angeles as Bulla would name it — would reduce the political influence of the transportation companies, eliminate Supreme Court duplication, lessen the jealousy between North and South, and increase Pacific Coast Congressional representation. Bulla also asserted that the increase in taxes required to finance the new state would soon be offset by reductions in the cost of government.

Bulla concluded, however, that the state probably would not be divided. He thought several factors were essential for separation: support of Southern Californians, favorable action from "Uncle Joe" Cannon to move the measure through the House of Representatives, and Eastern acceptance of increased Pacific Coast representation. Bulla was not certain that all these requirements would be forthcoming. He also wondered if separating at the 1859 line would be advisable because it would cut off Los Angeles from its Owens River Project in Inyo county.

The loss of the Owens River Project, which is not in that part of Inyo included south of the 1859 line, became one of the most forceful arguments used by division opponents.<sup>4</sup> One of the most influential of these men was Senator H. E. Carter. In an article for the *Grizzly Bear*, the publication of the Native Sons of the Golden West, Carter asserted that sectional differences were disappearing and that Southern California was receiving more benefits than it paid for through taxation. He assailed another argument often used by separation

supporters: the failure of the state legislature to pass measures essential to the South. He said:

Contrary to being unable to get needed legislation, the Southern California delegation, for the past eight years, has been able to and did get through all and every bit of legislation requested by the people of Southern California.<sup>5</sup>

The *Grizzly Bear* also printed an editorial opposing division. Speaking for the Native Sons it wrote:

The *Grizzly Bear* informs all who care to know that the Native Sons of the Golden West as an Order, are unanimous upon this subject and will positively fight State Division. We recognize no North, no South, but one united commonwealth, and will oppose determinedly and fearlessly to the last trench any attempt to disrupt the State founded by our fathers, the Pioneers of "49".<sup>6</sup>

Other states watched California's domestic difficulties with interest. The Springfield *Republican* in Massachusetts wondered why Northern Californians were not supporting the separation move that would give the Pacific Coast more representation in the Senate. The *California Weekly* in San Francisco replied:

The representation of California in the United States Senate has not usually been of such quality as to stimulate a universal desire to have it multiplied by two.<sup>7</sup>

In September, 1909, new fuel was added to the division fire when the assessed valuation of the Southern counties was raised by the State Board of Equalization. Ventura's assessment was increased one-hundred per cent. Los Angeles' increase was forty per cent, but in the North San Francisco county was raised only ten per cent.<sup>8</sup>

The Los Angeles Realty Board quickly called a mass meeting to consider these increases.<sup>9</sup> With acting Realty President George N. Black presiding,<sup>10</sup> the meeting selected a study committee to decide the advisability of holding a convention to discuss division.<sup>11</sup>

The Los Angeles *Times*, unsympathetic to previous division sentiments, also protested the tax increases and added that Southern Californians were better intellectually and morally than a large number of Northern Californians. But it concluded that division was not a solution to Southern problems at this time.<sup>12</sup>



The Northern press jumped into the agitation on the side of unity. The *California Weekly* found no reasons for separation — but no disadvantages for the Northern counties if separation did occur.<sup>13</sup> The San Francisco *Call* charged that only Los Angeles was promoting division.<sup>14</sup> The *Call* also contended that an amendment to Section One, Article Twenty-one of the California State Constitution, which describes the boundaries of California, would have to be passed before division could be achieved.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile former State Senator Robert N. Bulla inspired pro-separation forces by repeating his analysis<sup>16</sup> — could, should, and would the state be divided — in an address to the City Club of Los Angeles.<sup>17</sup> And the committee formed at the mass meeting sponsored by the Realty Board was making plans to hold a division convention on October 5, 1909.<sup>18</sup>

But when convention day arrived, tempers had cooled and the meeting was poorly attended.<sup>19</sup> Although pro and con division arguments were still printed in the newspapers, the failure of the convention ended further Tehachapi-line separation action for several years. Perhaps division sentiment had subsided because Southern Californians thought that their assessment increases were reasonable in light of the regions' rapid increases in population, wealth, and property value. Or, perhaps the sympathy for division was not as widespread as some newspapers had suggested.<sup>20</sup>

But state division was not a dead issue everywhere in California. In the counties bordering Oregon a new plan was publicized that would create the state of Siskiyou from Coos, Douglas, Curry, Josephine, Jackson, Klamath, and Lake counties in Oregon and Del Norte, Siskiyou, Modoc, Humboldt, Trinity, Shasta, Lassen, and Tehama counties in California.<sup>21</sup> The reason behind the agitation was to attract attention to these counties which were, they felt, ignored by their respective states.<sup>22</sup> As the *Yreka Journal* stated:

Whether anything ever comes of the proposition or not, Siskiyou county and its county seat Yreka is getting the best advertising it ever had and the whole cost of the same is at the expense of the *Journal*.<sup>23</sup>

By 1910 little sentiment for separation was noticeable in either the Southern or the far-Northern sections of California. Joseph Hayford Quire, in "State Division in California," wrote at that time:

The occupations and character of the people of the two sections are coming more and more into harmony. . . . One race of people now exists where two had formerly lived. All conditions go to show that we will have no "North California," "Central California," or "South California," but instead a unified, a strong, and an incomparable Golden State of California.<sup>24</sup>

But after the 1914 election, the division issue revived. Now a group of Northern Californians urged the split. They contended that both sections favored separation and that most Southern residents were not in sympathy with the California spirit because they were not natives of the Golden State.<sup>25</sup>

Early in 1915 another Northern organization was functioning called the Peoples Association for Changing the Boundary of California by Amending the Constitution. The association would separate the rest of the state from the eight counties south of the Tehachapis — San Diego, Imperial, Riverside, Orange, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino — by amending Section One, Article Twenty-one of the state constitution. This was the article cited in 1909 by the *San Francisco Call* as an obstacle to division. By the end of January nearly five thousand signatures had been obtained on initiative petitions,<sup>26</sup> and a few days later one-hundred and fifty petitions were reported in circulation.<sup>27</sup>

In an interview in Stockton, Russell L. Dunn, secretary of the association, stated Northern reasons for division. First, the Eastern immigrants in the South were trying to force their will on the North; second, some of the measures that the South supported were discouraging out-of-state-capital; third, mining interests were being hurt by the South-supported compensation law; fourth, the South was pressing for prohibition; fifth, Congressional representation for the area would be increased.<sup>28</sup>

In the Southland, Robert N. Bulla ignored illness to speak again for division. He found economic, legislative and geographic advantages for separation<sup>29</sup> and promised his help.<sup>30</sup>

But neither Bulla's support nor the estimated ten thousand signatures obtained by the middle of February were enough to split the state. The opposition to division was formidable — and much of it came from Los Angeles County.

Although Dunn had suggested that Inyo County could be traded for Santa Barbara County in the new state,<sup>31</sup> Los Angeles feared

that separation at the Tehachapis would amputate its water interests in Inyo County. Moreover, the South's attitude toward division was mellowing while the sympathies of the North did not favor division as much as the association assumed.<sup>32</sup>

In the years that followed the division cry was heard occasionally in both sections, but no serious separation move occurred until 1921. At that time California struggled with the reapportionment that should have followed the 1920 census. If the state reapportioned on population only, urban areas would gain representatives at the expense of rural areas and the South would gain at the expense of the North. When the expected adjustment was not forthcoming, Southerners once again urged division.

In 1921 Assemblyman W. F. Beal of Imperial County introduced a bill to form the state of Southern California<sup>33</sup> from the eight Southern counties.<sup>34</sup> Beal's plan was: first, to begin the division process with either an initiative action by the people or the legislature; second, to obtain the approval of the people within the whole state; third, to obtain approval of Congress; fourth, to adopt a constitution; fifth, to obtain Congressional approval of the new constitution; sixth, to elect a governor, United States senators, representatives, and the other officials for the new state.<sup>35</sup> In spite of the elaborate plan, the Beal bill never left the committee.<sup>36</sup>

Why did the Beal bill fail? One reason appears to be that the South did not have the financial resources necessary for a separate government.<sup>37</sup> But there is another reason why California was not severed through the Beal bill or any other division plan during this period. It is, simply, that at no time was any section so aggrieved that it could generate the public support necessary to accomplish division. Californians seemed to be Californians first — "Southerners" or "Northerners" second. Loyalty to the state as a whole had kept California united prior to 1907. From 1907 through 1921, loyalty kept California united in spite of the inconveniences caused by geographical length, sectionally-unequal tax increases, the state's indifference to far-Northern interests, the enormous growth of population — and of power — in the South, and aggravating reapportionment problems. From our vantage point we know that after 1921 loyalty to California as a whole would keep the state united in spite of many other sectional problems.<sup>38</sup>

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive summary of division proposals from 1849 to 1966, see Roberta M. McDow, "To Divide or Not to Divide?" *The Pacific Historian*, X, No. 4 (Autumn, 1966), 22-33.
2. Robert N. Bulla, "Division of California," from a paper read before the Sunset Club, Los Angeles, March 29, 1907.
3. *Los Angeles Times*, March 10, 1907.
4. See Grant Jackson, "Owens River and State Division," *Grizzly Bear* [San Francisco], 1:50, May 1907.
5. H. E. Carter, "State Division," *Ibid.*, 1:49, June 1907.
6. Editorial, *Ibid.*, 1:4, May 1907.
7. Anonymous, "The Explanation Easy," *California Weekly* [San Francisco], 1:387, May 14, 1909.
8. *Los Angeles Herald*, September 13, 1909.
9. *San Francisco Call*, September 14, 1909.
10. *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 1909.
11. *Los Angeles Herald*, September 14, 1909.
12. *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 1909.
13. Editorial, *California Weekly*, 1:673, September 17, 1909.
14. *San Francisco Call*, September 16, 1909.
15. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1909.
16. Robert N. Bulla, "Division of California," *Pacific Outlook*, 7:6, 11-12, September 25, 1909.
17. *Los Angeles Express*, September 18, 1909.
18. *San Francisco Call*, September 21, 1909.
19. Clarence M. Hunt, "Before and After the Secession 'Convention'," *Grizzly Bear*, 6:1, November 1909.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1909.
22. *Medford Tribune* as quoted in *The Yreka Journal*, August 25, 1909.
23. *Yreka Journal*, November 10, 1909.
24. Joseph Hayford Quire, "State Division in California," (unpublished manuscript in the California State Library, Sacramento, June 1910)
25. *San Francisco Examiner*, December 23, 1914.

26. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1915.
27. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1915.
28. Los Angeles *Express*, February 8, 1915.
29. San Francisco *Examiner*, February 4, 1915.
30. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1915.
31. *Ibid.*
32. San Francisco *Chronicle*, February 27, 1915.
33. Los Angeles *Times*, November 24, 1926.
34. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1926.
35. *Ibid.*, November 24, 1926.
36. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1926.
37. San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 24, 1921.
38. For a detailed account of a later plan to divide the state, see William Newell Davis, Jr., "California's 'State of Jefferson,'" *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXI, No. 2 (June, 1952), 125-138.

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# Harbor Entry and Recognition Signals in Early California

By DONALD C. CUTTER

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MODERN NAVAL DOCTRINE takes for granted, particularly in war time or when hostilities are imminent, certain precautions to guard coastal establishments from unauthorized entry. Such devices as signs and countersigns, audio and visual signalling, seem to a modern generation automatic precautions, but ones essentially concerned with the present century. Assistance for gaining access to a harbor, for finding appropriate anchoring ground for ships, and for making known the nationality and peaceful intentions of the inbound vessel are all problems which were likewise faced in the early days of occupation of Spanish California.

Sailing directions possessed by the Spanish Naval Department of San Blas and promulgated to appropriate vessels gave clear instructions for making the harbor at the capital of Alta California. Frequent fogs which shrouded the inhospitable Bay of Monterey made sound signals even more important than visual signals, and vessels making the harbor employed a series of cannon shots to attract attention of the coastal battery of the royal presidio. From the guns of that fortification, in direct response to signals of the incoming vessel, harbor entrance guidance was provided. These exchanges of cannon salutes, fired without the ball, were employed to direct the arriving mariners.

The Spanish round-the-world scientific exploring expedition of Captain Alejandro Malaspina employed these directions in 1791 when making port coming south from Nootka to California. The explorer reported:

The Roadstead of Monterrey . . . offers an agreeable port of arrival for both the Philippine ships that sail to San Blas and Acapulco, and also to those which

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having run the coast are returning to the former department [*i.e.*, San Blas]. But the dense fog which almost always envelops it fills with anxiety the inexperienced pilot that tries to make its anchorage. In order to avoid the dread of this landfall, we will give notice that rarely are cross winds experienced; that north-westerlies are as common as are the fogs, and that the strongest winds that are suffered along this coast are from the south. Therefore whoever desires to anchor at Monterrey should steer toward Point Año Nuevo; and seeing this at a distance of one mile if it is possible, steer SE $\frac{1}{4}$ E [ $123\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ ] until finding himself a league from Point of Pines, recognized by the many trees of this kind that cover it, and by the several white spots that it has on its steep banks. Then sailing ESE [ $112\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ] the building which is called the presidio will be seen to the east, and arriving in 14 fathoms one can let go the anchor. Then it is necessary to take into account the rocks called La Loma and to use a kedge anchor astern, with which one remains in sufficient safety. But after having seen Point Año Nuevo, if one should be in the dark either because fog blocks his view or because the light of day is disappearing, one will steer a course to approach port with little way on, and thinking himself to be at a distance capable of being able to hear the sound of 12 calibre cannon shots, he will fire some from time to time until hearing those that they always have ready for that purpose, and the direction from which they are heard will serve as a guide for making the anchorage.<sup>1</sup>

Not only were these signals exchanged, but also the local presidio at times had available small boats to use in guiding vessels both in and out of the harbor when circumstances required. These boats were employed to kedge a vessel out far enough to catch the off-shore breezes, or to assist in hauling vessels in to closer anchoring ground.

Important to the security of the California harbors was the need to have a definite set of recognition signals. The California coast was fully exposed. Recourse to soldiers as lookouts awaiting the appearance of foreign sails along the coast was time consuming and not very effective. The vantage point for spotting a potential invader was frequently so distant from the probable point of attack that precious time would be lost in getting the word passed.

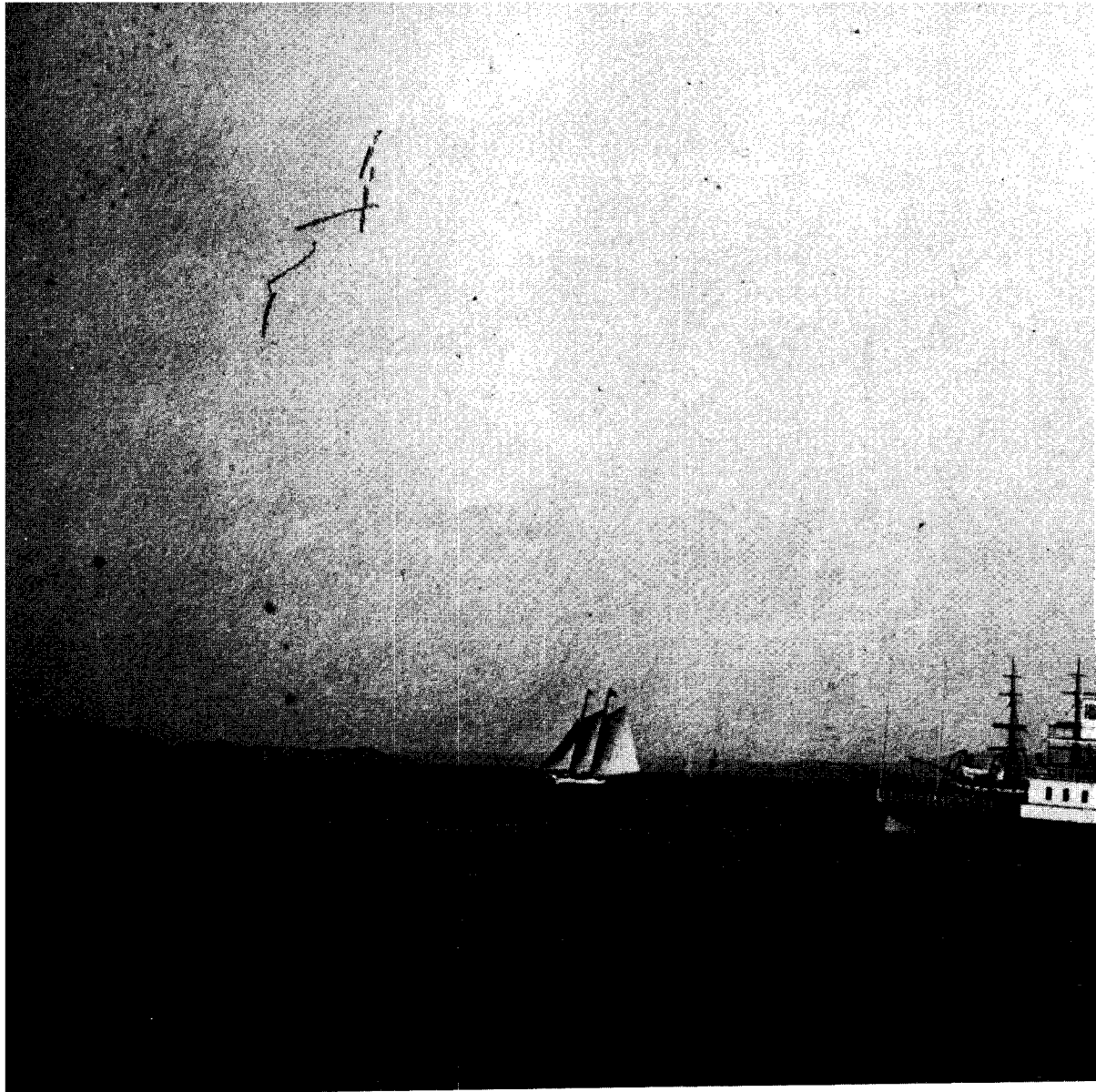
In the decade of the 1790's the exposure of the California coast was more evident than it had been earlier. Spanish tranquility had been broken by the repeated appearance of foreign vessels in the Pacific. Boston men had made their appearance on the coast, the English commissioner in the Nootka Controversy, Captain George Vancouver, R.N., visited the California establishments on three occasions, and other vessels were sighted occasionally making a tentative approach to the little guarded coast. During this same



**Before there were freeways,  
there was the Bay  
silent, shimmering  
and ever peaceful**

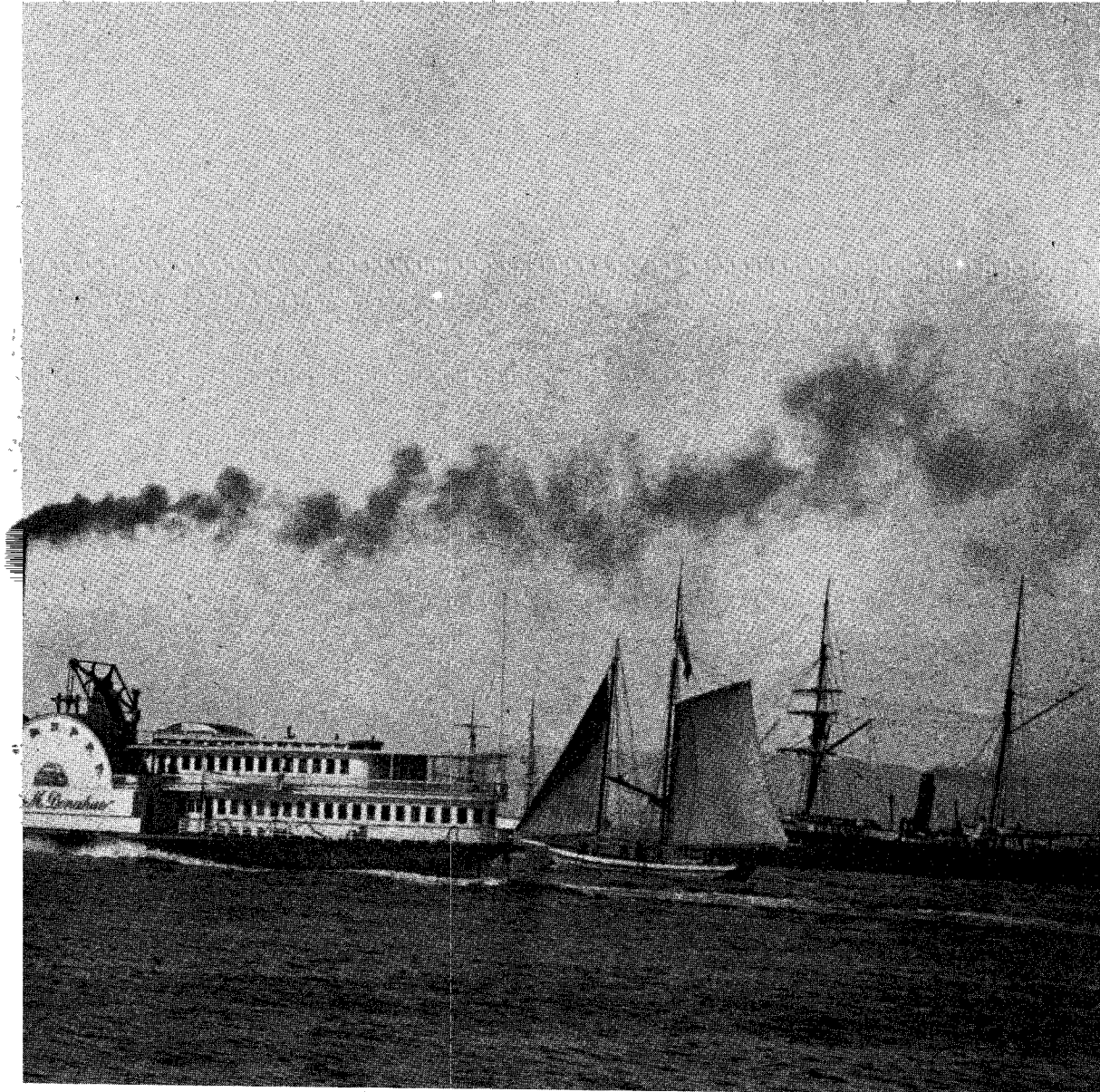






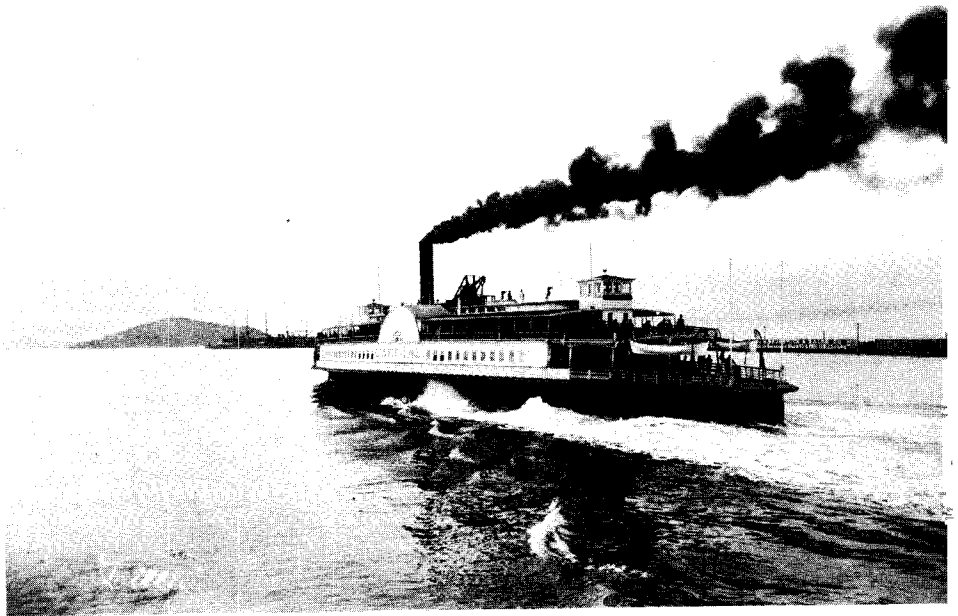
. . . not calm as a quiet lake  
high in a frozen mountain . . .  
not placid, running softly  
as thin rivers run, through lush  
green fields . . . but busy,  
bustling,  
alive with the racing  
worlds' traffic . . .  
seaborne, sea stained,  
sea weary and fragile in its  
beauty.



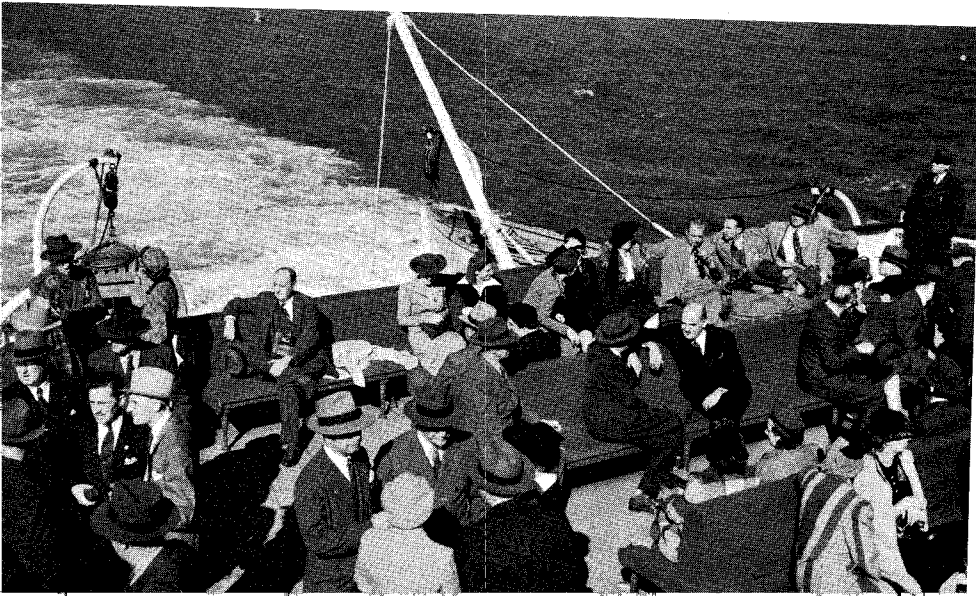
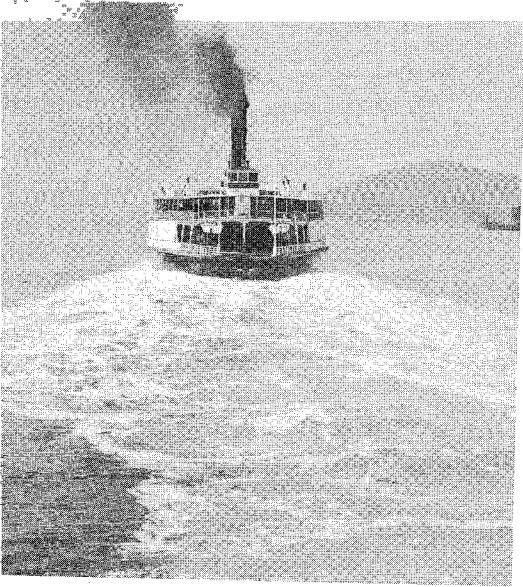


Passengers and oil for the East,  
hay for laboring horses on  
the hills that girdle the Bay . . .  
wind-ruffled trails for ardent  
yachtsmen and a windy, salt  
moment  
of relief . . . a time for refreshment  
for each ferry-borne passenger  
that crossed the wind-stirred  
track  
to his home at day's end



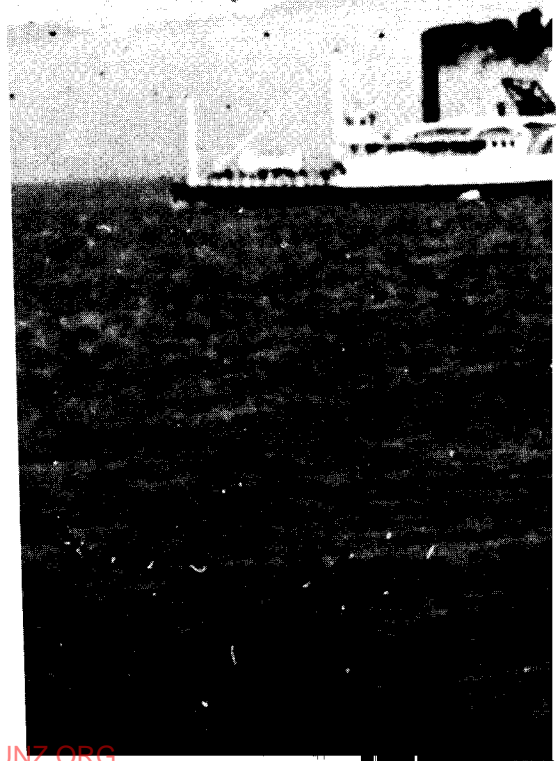


Ferry time on the Bay  
was a special moment . . .  
an instant to catch one's breath,  
to breathe more deeply,  
to remember the gull's grace  
in flight . . .  
to face the waning sun  
in its ruby glory.  
Ferry time on the Bay  
was a time to slow down . . .  
a time to remember  
that life and nature are one



The still beauty of tall ships  
clothed in sun-struck canvas  
died hard . . .  
not as the loser in a  
hard-fought struggle,  
not vanquished by towering  
    wave  
or whistling wind  
but quietly against the  
slow clank of the paddle wheel  
and the delicate skein of  
wind-raveled, soot-filled  
smoke plumes . . . tattered  
banners of the steam engine

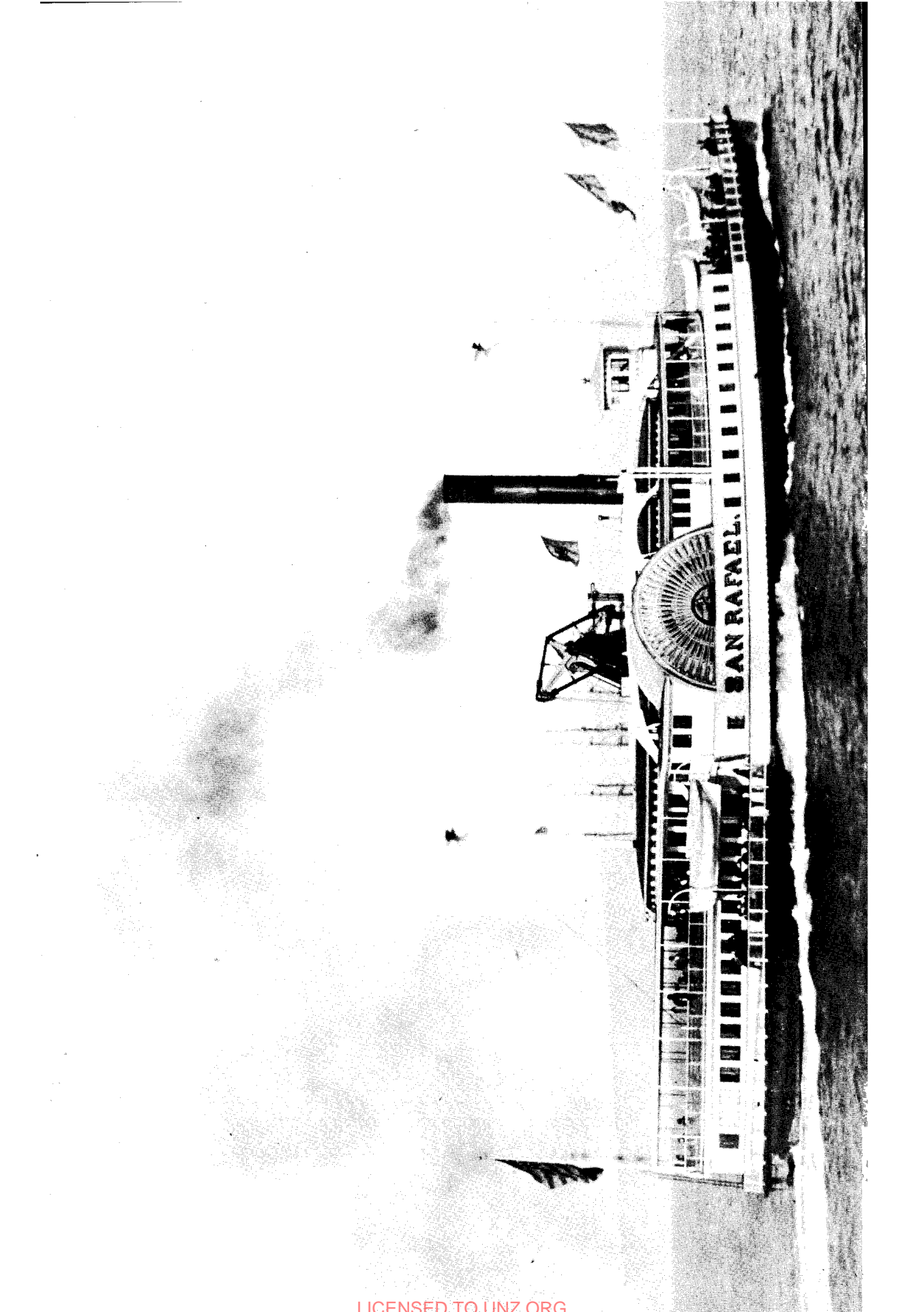
*R.A.W.*











period the Spanish Navy, with Pacific headquarters at the coastal port of San Blas, today in Nayarit, was exceedingly active in pressing Spanish claims to the Pacific Northwest.<sup>2</sup> But Spain was not alone in this effort to control the area to the north of modern California — there were the United States, Russian, French, and English pretenders in the form of explorers and fur traders. To keep an eye on Spanish interests and to strengthen the Spanish defensive posture along the coast, the Spanish Navy was kept busy in repeated exploration and in supply of the youthful colonies in Upper California and at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island's verdant west coast.

As had been the case earlier, Spain overexpanded its resources both financially and physically in its move northward. There were many expenses and a lack of trained personnel. Dire necessity of defending Spain's colonial empire in North America brought a temporary solution to the first of these problems; but the second, that of lack of naval personnel, was partly solved only by admitting into the pilotage corps of the Naval Department of San Blas several North Americans who were available.

The first of these recruits in entering Spanish service was John Kendrick, Jr., son of the old Revolutionary War privateer and companion of his father during the early exploration of the West Coast made by John, Sr., and his subordinate commander, Robert Gray. The younger Kendrick left his father's vessel, the *Columbia*, on the Northwest Coast to assume duties as interpreter and second pilot aboard the *San Carlos*, a Spanish naval packetboat. In San Blas he later officially joined the Spanish Royal Navy as a pilot. John Kendrick, Jr., subsequently served aboard the Frigate *Princesa* and as *Piloto segundo* was even permitted to command at different times the *Hermosa Americana* and the Frigate *Aránzazu*. Kendrick served Spain well, received high recommendations of his superiors, built up seven years of longevity, and under other circumstances might even have ascended to the regular commissioned officer ranks.<sup>3</sup>

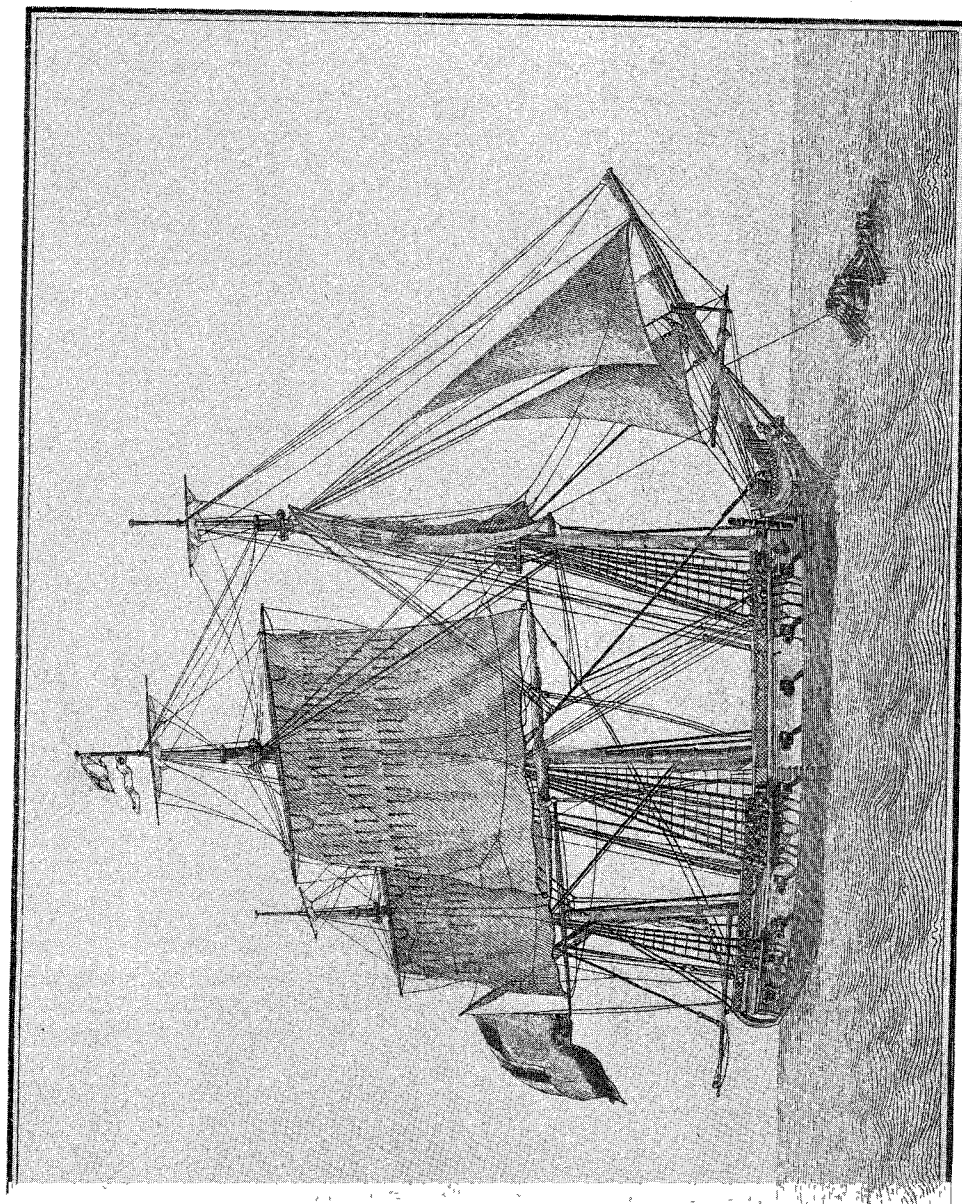
A second recruit to the Spanish pilotage corps was the later to be well-known figure Joseph Burling O'Cain of Philadelphia and Boston, who would become famous in the sea otter trade and as a result of his dealings with the Russian American Fur Company. At this time he was but a "boy" and was customarily called in typically Hispanic fashion by his middle rather than by his last name; that

is, Burling rather than O'Cain. This ship's boy was recruited on the Pacific Northwest Coast after he "jumped ship." José Tobar, a Spanish naval officer, was later held responsible for this enlistment under circumstances which make it apparent that the officer had entreated the cabin boy to desert. O'Cain, as he was otherwise called, served in the post of *pilotín* or apprentice pilot, one grade lower than Kendrick.<sup>4</sup> Both however, despite their lowly status, were within the officer rather than the enlisted ranks.

We know little of the service of Burling, but Juan (John) Kendrick served so well in the Nootka campaign that he was recommended by the Nootka Commandant, Lieutenant Ramón Saavedra of the Spanish Royal Navy, in a letter written in August, 1794, to the Viceroy.<sup>5</sup> But to the upper officialdom it seemed somehow risky to have a Bostonman at the conn of a Spanish vessel. Young Kendrick was relieved of his duty aboard the sloop *Sutil*, the historic vessel which several years earlier had under the command of Dionisio Alcalá-Galiano made the first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island accompanied by the twin vessel, the *Mexicana*. "Juan O'Cain or Bourleing [*sic*]" was relieved of duty and both were sent off to Spain to be separated from Spanish service.<sup>6</sup>

It was the separation of these minor officers, particularly in view of their obvious knowledge of harbor entry doctrine then current, that occasioned a new set of recognition signals. A not unjustified fear in light of subsequent events that these men might return to the California coast, prompted a newly promulgated set of what by modern standards would be considered elementary signals. Another motive for recognition signal change must certainly have been the unsophisticated character of the doctrine established during the founding period. Instructions issued to the commandants of California's only military settlements, San Diego and Monterey, in 1773 indicate an invariable signal. The presidio would fly the royal flag, which at that date was a white flag with a red royal crest superimposed thereupon. This would be answered aboard ship by a white pennant with the king's coat of arms being hoisted to the top of the foremast, this display of the Bourbon pennant serving as guidance to the local commandant. However, this officer was further warned in his instructions that even though the countersign was displayed, he was not to cease being prepared when a vessel entered port until





Spanish corvette of the post-1785 period showing one of the two possible positions of the recognition signal flag and pennant. The national army and navy flag, shown at the gaff, was never actually displayed simultaneously with the signal flags as in the altered engraving, original in the Museo Naval.

after he received a visit from an officer of such a ship who would come ashore in a boat or launch with assurances that the inbound vessel was Spanish. This was a "precaution which ought to be observed so as not to be taken by surprise, since it could happen that if by chance the signal were known by foreigners, they might use it and notable damage would result if the commandant were careless."<sup>7</sup>

The new signals promulgated to replace the violated code were issued by the Commandant of the Naval Department of San Blas, Francisco de Eliza, and were sent to the Marqués de Branciforte for Viceregal approval.<sup>8</sup> This was accomplished immediately for the set of new signals and appropriate notification of the intended change were sent by the Viceroy to the Governor of California, Lieutenant Colonel Diego de Borica.<sup>9</sup> The reason ascribed for the change was clearly stated as a desire to prevent Kendrick and O'Cain from being able to supply other nations with information concerning the then existing method for harbor entry.

California's new system was incorporated in an order issued at Tepic on August 10, 1797, by Lieutenant Francisco de Eliza of the Spanish Royal Navy as follows:

Recognition signals that the San Blas  
vessels will observe:

Day of the week	Position of flag and pennant	flags	pennants
Monday	atop the mainmast	red	red
Tuesday	atop the mainmast	red	blue
Wednesday	atop the mainmast	blue	blue
Thursday	atop the mainmast	blue	red
Friday	atop the foremast	red	red
Saturday	atop the foremast	blue	red
Sunday	atop the foremast	blue	blue. <sup>10</sup>

Means of employment of these signals were also specified in the order. As soon as the incoming vessel sighted any of the California establishments it was to hoist the flag and the pennant to the appropriate place in accordance with the schedule so that these could be properly recognized. In all cases of recognition signalling the colored



signal flag was to be displayed above rather than below the signal pennant, thereby leaving only one totally inadmissible combination, since a red flag over a blue pennant atop the foremast was never appropriate. The coastal countersignal which acknowledged understanding of the initial signal was the hoisting of the new Spanish national flag which had been adopted in 1785, the typical Spanish red and yellow with a central crest. A single cannon shot was also fired. To this the vessel was to respond by lowering the signal flag and pennant and by hoisting the national flag astern at the gaff.<sup>11</sup>

Upon receipt of Viceroy Branciforte's orders, Governor Borica sent a certified copy of the document as a confidential order to the commanders of all the California ports so that all would immediately place in execution this doctrine for admitting vessels.<sup>12</sup> Two days later Borica, a careful letter writer and probably the most illustrious of California's early governors, wrote to the Viceroy indicating that the word had been passed throughout his province.<sup>13</sup>

Of the efficiency of the new recognition system or of its employment in actual practice we have no information; but of the causes which brought it into being, *i.e.*, the uses that Kendrick and O'Cain might have at a future time for their specialized knowledge, it is evident that these were well founded. Both John Kendrick, Jr., and his fellow American Joseph B. O'Cain did indeed return to the coast of California on multiple occasions. Both were engaged either in clandestine trade or in poaching operations in California waters. Though Kendrick as a figure has escaped any extended notice, the figure of O'Cain stands out as one of the principal merchants engaged in the sea otter trade and as the first to enter into a "fifty-fifty" profit sharing agreement with the Russians in exploitation of the fur wealth of California's coastal waters. Both had taken advantage of their Spanish experience and training

## NOTES

1. Descripción de la Rada de Monterrey, undated, in *Pacífico América*, tomo II, original in Museo Naval, Ministerio de Marina, Madrid, MS vol. 127. Translation is taken from Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco, 1960), pp. 47-48.
2. The standard study on San Blas is Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for California and Nootka, 1767 to 1798* (Glendale, 1967). More recently Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña has written *San Blas de Nayarit*, (2 vols.; Mexico, 1968).
3. Details on the Kendricks, father and son, are found in John Leo Polich, "John Kendrick and the Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1964).
4. O'Cain has not yet found a biographer but is mentioned frequently in California history textbooks. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941), has numerous references to O'Cain.
5. Ramón Saavedra to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, Nukat, 31 August 1794, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico, Marina, tomo 98.
6. Diego de Borica to Marqués de Branciforte, Monterrey, 11 April 1797, AGN, Marina 98.
7. "Instrucción que debe observar el comandante nombrado para los establecimientos de San Diego y Monte Rey" MS, 17 August 1773, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 514.
8. Francisco de Eliza to Viceroy Branciforte, San Blas, 27 February 1798, AGN, Marina 98.
9. Branciforte to Señor Gobernador de las Californias [Borica], Orizaba, 18 July 1797, AGN, Marina 98.
10. "Señales de Reconocimiento que observarán los Buques de San Blas," Tepic, 10 August 1797, signed by Francisco de Eliza, AGN, Marina 98.
11. *Ibid.* The author is indebted to Captain José Luis Morales, Subdirector of the Museo Naval, Madrid, for detailed explanation of current and historic Spanish flag signalling practices.
12. Borica to Eliza, Monterrey, 9 November 1797, AGN, Marina 98.
13. Borica to Marqués de Branciforte, Monterrey, 11 November 1797, AGN, Marina 98.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker.* By Dwight L. Clarke. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1969. 446 pp. \$9.95.) Reviewed by Charles A. Fracchia.

In any field of scholarly research and writing, it is always a significant event when a book of first-rate scholarship, giving rare new information and insights, is published. Such an event occurred in the area of Californiana when the California Historical Society published Dwight L. Clarke's *William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker*.

The book's basis was the discovery by the author of a cache of letters written by Sherman to his partner in St. Louis, Henry Smith Turner. These letters were written during Sherman's stint as head of the San Francisco banking firm of Lucas, Turner during the years 1853-1857.

Although these letters — a find of great magnitude — are all business letters, Sherman adds a personal dimension to them, as well as acute observations of men and events. The style of the letters is brisk, practical, and yet, somehow warm and humane. This Civil War hero, known for the famous statement "War is hell" and for his famous march to Atlanta, comes dynamically alive in these letters. The harrassed, conservative banker during a prolonged economic slump in San Francisco, Sherman is both prophetic and acute in his financial commentary. This man, after all, was a career Army officer, who went into a field he knew nothing about (banking) in an area (San Francisco) which was a roaring boomtown and the greatest challenge to any businessman to stay solvent. Sherman not only stayed solvent, but courageously withstood many financial and business panics and crises. In the end, he liquidated the firm at no loss to the partners, when he foresaw that it was virtually impossible for the firm to operate at a consistent profit.

The letters display not only the shrewd, incisive banker, but also the concerned, loving husband and father; they display a wry sense of humor (particularly about California politicians); and they display a surprising range of observation about the state, about various leading personalities in San Francisco, and about sound business practices.

Although Sherman's letters form the basis of this book, the book is not merely raw material, definitely not an edition of Sherman's letters; instead, Clarke uses the letters deftly in this work of deep historical research and writing, and it is Clarke's scholarship and writing as much as the wealth of Sherman's letters themselves which make *Gold Rush Banker* a book of unusual and significant value.

Clarke uses his knowledge of California history and Sherman's letters to draw an exquisite portrait of San Francisco business, social, and political history during the period 1853-1857. The combination of Sherman's letters and Clarke's illumination of the period recreate this most fascinating era of San Francisco history in a successful manner.

Sherman played a central role in one of the most famous and colorful events in San Francisco history — the Committee of Vigilance of 1856. As a leading citizen of moderate Law and Order conviction and as a former Army officer, the governor asked him to command the state militia in putting down the insurrection. Sherman's hard-headed practical realism led him to realize that any attempt to compel the Vigilantes to surrender power was doomed to failure and could only inflame antagonism and lead to serious armed conflict. Realizing that he lacked the power to be effective, he wisely withdrew from an active participation in trying to suppress the Vigilance Committee. His temperate letters give a great deal of new insight into those exciting days.

One cannot but be impressed with Clarke's prodigious scholarship in the text and notes of *Gold Rush Banker*. It not only bespeaks a wide knowledge of San Francisco history of the 1850's, but also of the intricacies of the banking practices of this period. Numerous obscure persons mentioned in the letters are identified, and events alluded to in the letters are suitably illuminated.

Clarke's notes for the book are a monument in themselves. Not only is the name identification impressive, but so is the identification of places and events. These notes, as well as a section of explanation of Sherman's banking terminology, give a great deal of information to the reader, enabling him to understand and enjoy sections of the book, which because of the technicality or intricacy of a particular event, might be incomprehensible.

To offer any negative criticism of this masterly book would be presumptuous. And what criticism is offered can be described as "nit-picking." There are a few minor inaccuracies in the book, based upon the author's too great reliance on some of the standard histories of the period. An example of this is note 23 on page 409, which information given follows Cross' *Financing an Empire: History of Banking in California*. Although Cross is the standard study on this subject, he is frequently inaccurate and needs to be checked. In a few other instances of identification of persons, additional research could have provided more information. However, such petty flaws should not even be considered as detracting from the book's inestimable value.

Clarke's book is not only a significant contribution to western history on its own merits, but also by virtue of its illustration of the business history of San Francisco and California. This has been an area much neglected by historians. The reasons for this can perhaps be attributed to the fact that historians frequently feel uncomfortable with business terminology, etc., or feel that businessmen are uninteresting "straight, establishment" types. Nothing could be farther from the truth, as witness the lives of such men as Sherman, Pioche, and Ralston. Instead we have had a proliferation of books on illiterate trappers, "colorful" characters (typified by the Emperor Norton), and other less significant types.

And yet, the early history of San Francisco and California is very much a business history, and we can say that from 1846 to 1880, the most interesting men, as a whole, in the state and in San Francisco were the businessmen. And what could be a more colorful, interesting saga than the business history of boom-town

San Francisco from the discovery of gold to end of the Comstock bonanza? *Gold Rush Banker* has helped to redress this deficiency.

For Dwight Clarke, the publication of this book should be a personal triumph of great magnitude. Now in his 80's, having been a successful banker and still active as a director of numerous companies, Clarke, although plagued by failing eyesight, constructed out of his discovery of Sherman's letters a work of exceptional scholarship, readability, and significance. Clarke previously wrote two books—one an edition of the journals of Henry Smith Turner and the other a biography of Stephen Kearny—and has contributed numerous articles to professional periodicals and scholarly journals. His career is reminiscent of those two other dedicated western historian-businessmen: Henry Wagner and Carl Wheat.

The book itself is extremely well designed by Adrian Wilson. This attractive, 450-page publication is undoubtedly one of the book bargains of the year at its \$9.95 price; and the California Historical Society should be complimented for publishing this work at such a reasonable price.

*William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker* is one of the most important and significant books on California history to be published within the past several years. Its scholarship and exciting readability should make it a "must" for anyone interested in the history of this state.

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*Southern California and its University: A History of USC, 1880-1964.* By Manuel P. Servín and Iris Higbee Wilson. (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 319 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Authors Manuel P. Servín and Iris H. Wilson, both doctoral graduates in history from the University of Southern California with some five degrees between them from that institution and with over ten years of combined teaching experience in the shadow of Tommy Trojan, have placed their heads on the line. They have walked the tightrope of institutional history, where a misstep to one side means unpopularity with both administration and alumni, whereas a misstep to the other side verges upon perjury but brings a guarantee of university blessing. The entire story of the bootstrap operation of USC from obscurity to national prominence can never be fully told. With 275 pages of text, the authors can only hit the highlights and the low spots of a history which has reflected within the Walls of Troy much of the meteoric development of southern California. It is perhaps only because USC can look ahead to a future which is bright with promise under aggressive leadership that it can afford the luxury of airing its past failures along with taking credit for its contributions. It has obviously graduated from the tyrannical era of its controversial presidential patriarch Rufus B. Von KleinSmid.

The story is well researched and the writing is as interestingly presented. It will be read by the old alums with the nostalgia of a visit to memory lane. It will



be read with enthusiasm by those who have earlier realized the great contribution USC has made to western higher education. It will be viewed with skepticism by the multitude of Trojanbaiters. But to those who are neutral concerning USC, a walk along University Avenue in the footsteps of the All-Americans of every sport, a visual trip to the burgeoning campus, and a sentimental sortie into bygone days will fall on nonreceptive hearts. The latter group can only accept USC as an existing fact, little caring about the details of its past. Nor will they be able, as more knowing readers will, to read much between the lines. However, to those who might profit from history—to student, faculty, administrator, trustee, alumni, and friends—increased challenge might be taken from a university history that tries its best to tell things as they really were.

Though on page 130 the authors are referring to the immediate pre-World War II period, the institution's major problem is made clear, and it is a problem not yet fully solved, in that "ultimately it was the faculty of the University of Southern California [by accepting absurdly low salaries] that was meeting and supporting the education needs of the Southland. These needs were not supported by the population of the region or the taxpayers of the state." The greatest subsidy, the only endowment, was the ill-paid faculty. For despite the thousands of athletic supporters hanging around campus on Saturday afternoons, not one of the "athletic alumni" has ever made a substantial financial or academic contribution, preferring only to root for a winner and to exert pressure for dismissal of any coach who has the misfortune to lose.

Out of place, and doubtless not a decision of the authors, is a series of recent development pictures and a group of sports publicity shots alien to the period of the book's coverage, which ends with 1964. Otherwise the illustrations and format are excellent.

The Reviewer, Professor of Southwestern History at University of New Mexico, taught in the history department of University of Southern California from 1951 to 1962.

*North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States.* By Carey McWilliams. (New York: Reprinted by Greenwood Press, Publishers. 1968. 324 pp. Paper, \$2.95; Cloth, \$11.25.) Reviewed by José Pedro Navarro.

Writers often refer to Mexican-Americans as an "invisible" or "forgotten" minority. The second largest nonwhite minority, Mexican-Americans (some five millions) have lived in the Southwest (mainly in California, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona) since 1540 when the Spaniards began to colonize the area. They have been a conquered people since 1848 when the United States took the southwest from Mexico. Curiously, school texts typically gloss over the Mexican and Mexican-American period, directing the reader's attention to more positive aspects of Anglo-American nationalism. Also, at this time, Mexican-Americans do not have their own journal of Mexican-American history, or a historical and publications society. Moreover, there are only a few books about the Mexican-

American heritage, and they usually are expensive, out of print, and frequently missing from library shelves. The most insightful and comprehensive of these books is Carey McWilliams' *North From Mexico*.

Based on good secondary sources, *North From Mexico* is the only historical survey of the Mexican people in the United States. The title and main thesis of the book's sixteen chapters are based on the author's belief the history of Mexicans in the United States is a "movement north from Mexico" — a movement involving interactions between Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglos to form diversified cultures in the Southwest. Two unusual chapters (VIII-IX) describe as no other writing, the contributions of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans to Southwestern economy, particularly unsung achievements in mining, transportation, and agriculture. Injustice is thoroughly reviewed. Anglos are shown dispossessing, lynching, shooting, and forcing Mexican-Americans into cheap labor and banditry. Incisive sections trace the origins of the Mexican stereotype, and its subsequent reinforcement by social scientists. Recent developments in the Mexican-American community are found in a new five page Introduction appended to this new reprint edition.

Although attractively bound, the volume is not well illustrated: it has only one map. As in the original, this reprint is not thoroughly documented, and the notes and bibliography are dated. These defects, however, are more than offset by the positive qualities.

The book will satisfy those interested in the entertainment value of history; it is not an erudite piece for other historians. The pace is brisk, the style clear and vivid, and the footnotes do not encumber the pages. And judged by its objective "to tell the story of the Spanish-speaking in the United States," this book must be considered remarkably successful.

Release of the paper edition this coming fall will resolve, at long last, the problem of accessibility created earlier by expensive clothbound editions. (Only 500 costly copies were reprinted in 1968 and the original is a collector's item valued at \$22.) Those who read Spanish will find the Mexican translation, *Al Norte de México* (Siglo XXI, 1968) inexpensive and better illustrated. The brochure, "Mexicans in America" by the same author is now available from Teachers College Press, Columbia University is a capsule treatment of *North From Mexico*.

Carey McWilliams is a controversial figure. There are critics who believe the author excessively pleads for the cause and plight of the minority groups he writes about. McWilliams, these critics concede, has written about neglected groups (e.g., farm workers and minority groups), but he is not a professional historian. Condescendingly, critics refer to McWilliams as a journalist, forgetting the author's background as attorney, speaker, Commissioner of Housing and Immigration under Governor Olson's New Deal administration in California, as draftsman of the report submitted to the governor by the committee set up to study the "Zoot Suit" Riots of 1943, and also, as editor of the *Nation*. There are — s, myself included, who feel McWilliams has a profound understanding of

the Mexican-American; he does engage in some special pleading, but what writer does not? And if the author is a mite biased in favor of Mexican-Americans and other nonwhites, so much the better since most of the material about Mexican-Americans is negative. (See O. Romano's article in *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought*. Berkeley: Fall, 1968). What is needed is a history which emphasizes the positive aspects of the Mexican-American heritage. In this sense, Mexican-Americans themselves agree *North From Mexico* is one of the few insightful books about their history. It is, to be sure, one of the greatest tributes ever paid to the Mexican-American people.

JOSÉ PEDRO NAVARRO, a graduate of Van Nuys High School in Los Angeles and the recipient of the A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of California at Santa Barbara, has taught Mexican-American history at UCSB.

*Will Soule Indian Photographer at Fort Sill, Oklahoma 1869-74.* By Russell E. Belous and Robert A. Weinstein. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 120 pp. \$12.50). Reviewed by Lucile A. Travis.

For the growing number of *aficionados* of American Indian culture and history, as well as for those seriously interested in photography, this book is an excellent combination of both subjects.

Russell Belous sets the stage with a concise account of the decline and fall of the Indian Nations with emphasis on those of the Southern Plains, some of whom are portrayed in the photographs taken by Will Soule about a hundred years ago and reproduced in this volume.

Robert Weinstein then traces the development of photography in the United States from the daguerrotype in the early 1840's through the Civil War, by which time "official" photographers were in demand in many fields. Among these was the young William Stinson Soule who had served in the Union army and was wounded at Antietam. After recovering, he worked for a photographer in Pennsylvania, and later in 1867 decided to follow Horace Greeley's advice and go west, to join the other "shadow catchers" as the Indians called them, taking with him the necessary photographic equipment. It was during the next eight years that he produced the astonishingly true-to-life photographs that are included in this volume.

Both authors are well equipped to write such a book as this. One is an anthropologist of note and the other an authority on the origins and development of photography. They also give due credit to Armando Solís, Chief Photographer of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, who was responsible for the printing of the wet-collodion negatives — which had been lost to the world for almost a century.

The end papers are a very helpful map of the Great Plains marking the forts, treaty sites, and battles of the period covered by the book.

All in all, this is a most satisfying addition to the library of anyone interested in American history.

LUCILE A. TRAVIS, who is in charge of El Molino Viejo or (The Old Mill) which formerly formed part of San Gabriel Mission, received her A.B. and A.M. degrees from Radcliffe College.

*An 1850 Voyage: San Francisco to Baltimore by Sea and by Land.* By Jacob D. B. Stillman. (Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1967. 112 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by John Haskell Kemble.

This volume contains a reprinting of Dr. Jacob D. B. Stillman's narrative of his journey from California to the Atlantic Coast in 1850. It first appeared in the *Overland Monthly* in 1874 with the title: "From Colchis back to Argos." It describes a trip which began on 24 October 1850 when Dr. Stillman sailed from San Francisco for Realejo, Nicaragua, in the ship *Plymouth*. He made the Nicaragua crossing before this route had achieved any great popularity, and therefore he found the country relatively untouched by foreigners and affording little in the way of arrangements for accommodating large numbers of travellers. Dr. Stillman crossed the Isthmus by canoe, schooner, and on horseback whereas a year or so later he would have found steamboats on Lake Nicaragua and the San Juan River as well as stage coaches on paved roads between the lake and the Pacific. Despite delays and hardships, Dr. Stillman did not find the trip wholly unpleasant. It required about a month for him to travel from ocean to ocean. From San Juan de Nicaragua on the Caribbean, Dr. Stillman took passage for New Orleans in the brig *Mechanic*. After seemingly endless delays in getting away from the Central American Coast, he left the brig at Old Providence Island and remained there until passage offered in the schooner *Polly Hinds* which landed him in Baltimore on 13 February 1851.

Dr. Stillman's narrative is lively and full of interesting detail. Although written long after the event, it would appear to have been based on a journal kept at the time. It is introduced by a brief but informative Foreword by John Barr Tompkins of the Bancroft Library. There are thirty-four illustrations drawn from contemporary sources, a photograph of Dr. Stillman in his later years, and useful maps as end papers. It is the opinion of this reviewer that the narrative would have been improved by editing; not so much in the excision of material as by the inclusion of explanatory and identifying notes. Some parts of the text as printed in the *Overland Monthly* have been deleted but without indication in the present version.

The publication of this book calls attention to a fine account of trans-Isthmian travel in the Gold Rush period, and makes it available to the general reader and the scholar in convenient and attractive fashion. Perhaps it will lead to the editing and reprinting of other writings by Dr. Stillman.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE, a distinguished maritime historian and author, is professor of history at Pomona College.



*The Six Turnings: Major Changes in the American West 1806-1834.* By John Upton Terrell. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1968. 250 pp. \$8.50.) Reviewed by Gloria R. Lothrop.

No one would gainsay that the road of history is strewn with the wrecks of proven and irrefutable causes and consequences. John Upton Terrell in *The Six Turnings* avoids this possibility by selecting events which, he clearly states, in his opinion served as turning points in westward migration during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

In his interpretation Terrell focuses not only upon the actual frontier but also upon the influence of European and American technology and capital. This economic orientation is also evident in the consideration of the mercantile impulse which launched canoes toward the Columbia in the first "turning" westward, and the market's shift from beaver to buffalo which underscored the practicality of trading forts instead of the rendezvous and resulted in the sixth "turning" westward.

Throughout the four intervening landmark events Terrell traces the rise and demise of the force *regnant* along the early nineteenth century fur frontier. In discussing the Astorian hegemony at the mouth of the Columbia, or as its steamboats conquered the Upper Missouri, or as Astor shifted from supplier to fur monopolist and million-dollar profiteer of the rendezvous system, the author reveals a decisive tone in his writing. His judgments are strong as when he describes Captain Thorn of the *Tonquin* as a "fool." And his bias is obvious as he writes that Astor "despised nothing so much as public spirited citizens or government officials who sincerely struggled to improve the national welfare."

There is also a conscientious effort to appraise both the positives and negatives of the events in question. For example, Terrell selects as another great "turning" the launching of the "fire machine which walked on water." Although the stern-wheelers gained the timorous admiration of the Indians and lured their peltries from the less spectacular Hudson's Bay Company, the author notes that they also brought with them vagabond Americans and pandemic disease. Thus the steamboat whistle was also a jarring threnody mourning the death of a wilderness alliance between mountain man and Indian.

The economic success of the steamboat contributed to Astor's eventual monopoly of the Upper Missouri fur trade. Terrell chooses this development of the Western Department of the American Fur Company, a "juggernaut spewing its corruption and debauchery," as the fourth "turning." Again, its negative features are placed in counterbalance with the increased interest in the frontier evoked in political and commercial circles.

The study turns next to the "General Rendezvous." Although the writer credits the development of the system not to William H. Ashley but to Donald McKenzie and his fur brigades, he does not overlook such Ashley men as Jim Bridger and Jedediah Smith. Terrell traces the initial efforts of Ashley and Henry up to the Cache Valley Rendezvous of 1826 and then turns from the rendezvous with its bitter rivalries of the 1830's, focusing instead upon the final "turning."

the establishment of trading posts which were to serve as wilderness outposts for the caravans soon to be organized.

With obvious familiarity Terrell has scrutinized a portion of the national epic, bringing to life the fabled equerries of the fur frontier for the general reader, often with the aid of primary sources though citations are absent. Instead, short bibliographic essays appear as footnotes at the beginning of each chapter. Other annotations are not consistently provided. But an occasional footnote reveals wide knowledge, for example, of Ashley's 1825 acquisition of fur possibly from Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Terrell has presented a convincing argument supporting certain assumptions of his own devising. But most importantly, in doing this he has offered us no flat after-image of the historical past, but rather sharply outlined impressions well-suited for the general reader of western history.

GLORIA RICCI LOTHROP, a doctoral graduate in Western United States history from the University of Southern California, is an assistant professor of history at Marymount College.

*Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California.* By Richard Dillon. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1967, 380 pp. \$6.95.) Reviewed by John Bernard McGloin, S.J.

Within the extensive pages of this well written and interesting volume, Richard Dillon, the prolific librarian of the Sutro Branch of the California State Library limits for his readers the quixotic and volatile character of John Sutter, often called the Father of American California. From the evident research and reflection which went into the making of this book has emerged a full dimensioned and welcomed study of this controversial figure. As the author indicates, most of the literary treatments of Sutter are either inferior, shallow or the veriest repetition of earlier such things. In Dillon's view, the time was at hand to give a fresh assessment of Sutter and his times as a needed addition to the California story. The present reviewer, as one of the very many who are now teaching California history, was in complete agreement when he started to read this book and it is good to be able to say that he was not disappointed with what he read within its covers.

From just about any point of view, John Sutter was a polygon figure — one can search for any of his many sides and find evidence of a sort, it would seem, in support of any given facet of his career. Thus, if one were inclined to be "anti-Sutter," one could present damning evidence of his long-term insobriety and of other defects of character and the like; if one is of the "pro-Sutter" persuasion, there are abundant details which could be used to indicate what a generous man he was — as, indeed, he was in reality. The Dillon synthesis is of lasting value because the warts as well as the worth of Sutter are all to be found

here — and, out of it all and out of them all, comes a satisfactory portrait of a never uninteresting man.

This reviewer found it rewarding to read these pages in reverse order: he first wanted to see the bricks used in raising this literary edifice and that is why he found the seven pages of what Dillon has called a "Bibliographical Reprise" good reading. The author is correct when he says that "he has done his homework" — and that this is not merely a "history by hunch" analysis. Next this reviewer read, and with especial interest, the Epilogue since, having taught the Sutter story for quite some time, he wished to see how the man would fare at the hands of this latest critic and critique. One need not agree with every statement of the author or with every judgment passed by him in this interesting Epilogue; however, it appears that the reflection which went into this portion of his Sutter volume has yielded satisfactory results.

There would seem to be yet another value in the Dillon volume: we have heard so often about the Sutter-Marshall and gold discovery story that it has little or nothing that is new about it; one of the chief values which enhance this book is that it gives us a "complete John Sutter" by providing necessary details about his earlier years and about his eventual arrival in California. Especially interesting were the descriptive pages of the Sutter trek across the plains to the Pacific Coast.

Finally, although one could cavil about certain captions — e.g., one following page 288 which calls the gold discovered by Sutter "nuggets" when the show of color would seem to have consisted merely of flakestone — one must and should conclude with congratulations to Richard Dillon for an essentially sound treatment which will be much read by Californians and much used by present and future teachers of the California story.

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S.J., a professor of California history at the University of San Francisco, is also a well-known author of the state's history.

*California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917.* By Spencer C. Olin, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, 253 pp. \$6.95.) Reviewed by John M. Selig.

Utilizing the Hiram Johnson Papers and the latest research on the Progressive Movement the author produced this well documented study. Against a background of reform and party warfare, this book describes the administration and practical politics of Governor Hiram W. Johnson. Although the governor's principal advisers made substantial contributions to state administration and policy formation, it was Johnson who finally decided on legislation and party politics. The author observes: "seldom has a governor so dominated the life of his state" (p. 36). His political campaigns were for personal rather than team victory. His administration destroyed the dominant political power of the Southern

Pacific Railroad Company in California and provided for comprehensive regulation of all public utilities. It was responsible for governmental reform, advanced social and economic legislation, and electoral changes which included the initiative, referendum, recall, cross-filing and nonpartisan elections. As Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1912 Johnson gained national recognition. For almost three years the California Progressives formed a separate party, while the Republican Party was again controlled by the leaders who had earlier been discredited and deposed. In 1914 Johnson was re-elected governor. Party warfare was strong and bitter throughout 1916. Running against a candidate strongly supported by the regular Republicans, the governor sought the Republican and Progressive nominations for United States Senator. When Presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes toured California during the primary, he allowed his campaign to be managed exclusively by the regular Republican organization which prevented any public recognition of Governor Johnson or the Progressives. Hughes made other campaign errors. Johnson won both party nominations in the primaries. The Progressives regained control of the Republican Party organization in September. Hughes lost California and the Presidency by less than four thousand votes, while Johnson won overwhelmingly. Hiram Johnson's legacy of personality based politics still influences California's voting behavior.

JOHN M. SELIG is an instructor in political science at the City College of San Francisco.

*My Life with History: An Autobiography.* By John D. Hicks. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968. 366 pp. \$5.95.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

For anyone who has known Professor Hicks as a teacher and an associate this autobiography has the double value of renewing a friendship and giving one an excursion of seventy years into United States frontier and western history. The unusual richness and variety of his experiences is an inspiration, perhaps even a measurement for one's own career, and the passing events of those years are an intimate view of the nation and the history profession in transition. In short, Mr. Hicks has written more than an autobiography; it is good history, with personal observation and evaluation, that traces the rise of a preacher's son from rural Missouri and Wyoming to the great universities of the nation, to become one of the most influential historians of our day; and it weaves just enough humor and story-telling to take the edge off of judgments of colleagues and events — judgments that are surprisingly candid.

Seventy-eight years ago John Hicks was born to parents who were self-educated and inspired Methodists. His father held pastorates for twenty-seven years in northwestern Missouri and in Wyoming. A revivalist and seeker after souls, this man gave himself in the service of God, but had time also to raise by two



marriages a large family. John grew up in parsonages and learned the mysteries of farm and frontier life. Taking the opportunities as he found them, he enrolled in local schools and was tutored by his father who gave him examples of integrity, hard work, and struggle. While the family lived near the poverty line, it enjoyed life fully, comforted itself and others, and trusted that John would follow in his father's good work.

Though John had a preacher's license, mounted the pulpit, and served the church in a multitude of ways, he avoided the call somehow and, in his teens, turned to teaching. As a country school teacher on the Wyoming plains near Kaycee and then at French Creek near Buffalo, he spent two adventurous years in one-room log cabins, instructing children almost his own age. Meanwhile, he managed both to save money for college and side step parental moves to enroll him in a Bible institute. In 1908, he entered Methodist-sponsored Northwestern University where he studied until his money gave out. During a year clerking in a general store at Wheatland, Wyoming, he again saved money for college and was able to return to the university, where additional help from friends and a job in the library permitted him to complete college. Taking advantage of his library job, he stayed another year at Northwestern and won his M.A. degree in June 1914. His professors were impressed sufficiently with his promise to back his application for a teaching assistantship at the University of Wisconsin.

With his own frontier experience in mind John wanted to work on the West and chose as his major professor Frederick L. Paxson. Already known for the *Last American Frontier*, Paxson was an able lecturer, full of vigor and eager to help his graduates, and was soon a friend. Other professors were equally great and equally demanding, and within three years Hicks had taken his examinations and written the dissertation. Other associations with graduate students who have since achieved distinction gave him many important acquaintances in the profession. While his first teaching position at Hamline University came primarily through Paxson's efforts, the president of Hamline was impressed with Hicks' religious background. For the next six years Hicks taught a variety of courses, plunged into small college activity, and met eventually a senior student whom he wanted for his wife. With the approval of the president, they dated and were engaged, agreeing to marry after Lucile Curtis had a year of high school teaching and a chance to think over the pending marriage.

In the meantime, Hicks presented a paper at an American Historical Association convention, published an article on Ignatius Donnelly, and made some professional acquaintances. Although he had hoped for promotion to the University of Minnesota, an offer of a full professorship came instead from the North Carolina College for Women. It was too good to refuse even though he had to leave the Middle West and his many new friends, but an opportunity of this kind may not come again. However, before he had firmly settled in Greensboro, he received another invitation to read a paper at the AHA, and it attracted an offer of a professorship at the University of Nebraska. Delighted by these new

advantages and slightly embarrassed too, he moved his family to Lincoln and began nine years teaching and research that culminated in his famous *The Populist Revolt* (1931). This fine study "was a long time in coming," says Hicks, but it was very well received. The most impressive of his honors was an offer of a professorship at the University of Wisconsin to replace his friend Paxson who had moved to the University of California, Berkeley. Ten years later Hicks received the Morrison chair at Berkeley, rejoined his friend Paxson, and completed his two-volume history of the United States.

During the next fifteen years Hicks served as dean of the graduate school and chairman of the history department. Though he did not enjoy administration, he accepted the burden gracefully and initiated some reforms. He was elected president of the Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association, and spent one year at Cambridge University as the Pitt Professor. He was active in the oath dispute that tore the University apart in the early 1950's and was chairman of the Committee of Seven that tried unsuccessfully to find a compromise. The bitterness of that dispute, Hicks says, "was the most traumatic experience of my life."

In this personal narrative Mr. Hicks gives the reader many of his private thoughts and decisions. While he has obviously withheld much information that relates to business and professional matters, he had made judgments, analyzed his own attitudes toward professional affairs, and revealed his philosophy toward teaching. His insistence that good teaching has a priority over other duties will unsettle some research dominated scholars, but he has practiced what he preaches. His lectures were well organized, with depth and vigor, and included enough of the newer interpretations to encourage students to read additional materials. His own research, moreover, has possessed enduring merit so that few historians are better related to a field by reputation than Mr. Hicks is to Populism. But he has achieved greater fame through his two-volume text book. In a few choice sentences he writes about his work on these volumes: "I doubt if there is any more difficult and painstaking type of historical writing than is required to produce a good textbook.... All historical writing is a kind of compromise between topical and chronological treatment; how far should he go with one subject before he takes up another? ... Many times I have pointed out to my students how much simpler it would be if historical synthesis could follow the example of a symphony orchestra, with the various instruments, each representing some significant development, all blending together to produce a harmonious whole. Instead, the historian has to do the best he can to convey his enormously complicated message on a single instrument that can produce only one tone at a time."

While Mr. Hicks discusses historical theory and practice at various times through the book and gives excellent information, he is cautious in expressing views on departmental policy and the oath controversy at Berkeley. He does not reveal in a significant way why he received a "traumatic experience" from being

involved in the dispute — except that as a man of peace he was bewildered by some attempts of the University Regents to exact personal revenge and sacrifice the university. If he had used his letters and impressions of that day instead of relying upon David Gardiner's monograph, his part would be more meaningful and clear.

The University of Nebraska has designed a beautifully illustrated book, with sixteen pages of appropriate photographs, and provided a good Index of seven pages.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, an authority and highly respected author in the field of Colonial and Early United States history, is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California — Index.* Compiled by Anna Marie Hager and Everett G. Hager. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968. 80 pp. \$10.00). Reviewed by Oscar Osburn Winther.

Historians of the mid-nineteenth century West first hailed the publication of *The Larkin Papers*, ten volumes edited by George P. Hammond, as the volumes began to appear in 1951. They now have occasion to rejoice once again with the publication of the *Index* to these invaluable papers. Anna Marie and Everett G. Hager are not only to be commended for having done a superior job of compiling this index but for having given so generously of themselves in order that historical studies of California and the West may be facilitated.

Those who may have used *The Larkin Papers* will know the riches to which this *Index* is an indispensable key: Larkin's massive correspondence and assorted documents and records spanning the years 1822-1858 during which time he was a leading merchant, United States Consul in California, and secret agent for the United States government. As Professor Hammond states in his Preface to the *Index*, "This mass of material demanded a key to unlock its buried treasures," and this item — not the Table of Contents for the individual volumes — is that key.

A close examination reveals a massive and an intriguing array of names that might normally be lost, names that have meaning to local as well as national historians. But what makes this particular index outstanding is the fullness with which subjects or topics, as distinguished from personal names, have not only been included but have been presented with a generous array of subtopics and cross references. It will not be necessary for the user of this index to run down an endless array of page references (topic or personal name) in order to determine if such references have usefulness to his particular subject of investigation. The following is an example:

*Hudson's Bay Company*: charters vessel, I. 52; goods for California, I. 52; establish house, I. 52; purchase of cattle, I. 77; headquarters, I. 78; agent, II. 10, 140; trappers, II.

140; opinion of Senator Choate, II. 140; permanent settlements, II. 140; in Oregon, II. 262; political party in Oregon, III. 216; ...

The *Index* has, obviously, been prepared with meticulous care; careful eyes have done the proofreading; the typography and printing as a whole are worthy of the company this attractive item will keep, namely *The Larkin Papers* themselves.

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER, authority on Western American transportation and formerly editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, is professor of history at Indiana University.

*Wild Sports in the Far West*. By Friedrich Gerstaecker. Introduction and notes by Edna L. Steeves and Harrison R. Steeves. Reprinted from the English translation of 1854. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press, 1968. 409 pp. \$6.50.) Reviewed by Richard N. Ellis

Nineteenth century European visitors to the United States often published accounts of their travels and recorded their observations of American society and life. Friedrich Gerstaecker's *Wild Sports in the Far West*, reprinted by Duke University Press is not among the best known books of this type, and rightly so.

Friedrich Gerstaecker, a young German who visited the United States between 1837 and 1843, was an unusual figure. He was not the typical European traveler, nor did he write a normal travel account. He was basically a drifter who made his way, largely by foot, to Arkansas and then wandered throughout that region for several years. He worked at odd jobs when he needed money, but his primary interest was hunting, and his book, written from his letters and diary, is largely an account of his exploits in the forest. There are some descriptions of the countryside and of the people and a few comments on the Indian removal policy of the 1830's and the institution of slavery, but there is little else of importance.

Gerstaecker lacks the penetrating observations of a Tocqueville or the sharp criticisms of a Harriet Martineau. It is primarily an account of the author's hunting exploits and is of marginal value. This reviewer questions the wisdom of reprinting this book.

RICHARD N. ELLIS is an assistant professor of history at the University of New Mexico.

*Whittier: Independent College in California, Founded by Quakers, 1887*. By Charles W. Cooper (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1967. 405 pp. \$7.25.) Reviewed by Don A. Nuttall.

Friends' College, creation of the young Quaker colony of Whittier in the boom days of 1887, suffered death in infancy during the California real estate bust of the following year, and completed excavation for the projected college building's space were soon converted into the town reservoir. Whittier College, tribute



to the Whittier Quakers' continued efforts to found their own institution of higher education, was by early 1967 enjoying more auspicious times, with construction of a \$3,200,000 science center in the offing. Professor Cooper's book is an account of the premature collapse and phoenix-like rise (from water rather than from ashes, it is true) of that California independent college.

Utilizing a chronological-narrative approach, Professor Cooper has traced Whittier College's eighty years of evolution and experience. He has, in the process, treated the entire spectrum of elements which comprise the whole of an academic community. Major emphasis is upon those educational concerns found within the main tent of Woodrow Wilson's "circus," but due attention is devoted to the co-curricular "side shows." Throughout, he skillfully has placed the college's experience within the context of the international, national, regional, and local milieu.

Professor Cooper has produced a work of considerable historical and literary merit. It is, in fact, one of those relatively rare examples of extremely readable history. The narrative moves and holds one's interest. It contains drama often spiced with humor. The principal personalities involved are multidimensional and alive. Professor Cooper, in sum, proves himself to be a most artful story-teller. Cooper's literary skill would be expected by those familiar with his background as playwright and author. His obvious mastery of the historian's craft comes as a pleasant surprise.

A colorful and interesting preface by Jessamyn West, Whittier College alumna and renowned authoress, enhances the quality of the book. Numerous photographs of personages and events prominent in the college's history comprise another noteworthy feature.

Criticism of Professor Cooper's book is, in most respects, a difficult task. Errors of historical fact are so few that they require no more than passing mention. Although no stranger to their use (having coauthored with E. J. Robins the widely-used *The Term Paper*), Cooper wisely chose not to encumber his pages with footnote citations. He includes, however, a detailed account of his sources, which clearly reveals the abundance of published and unpublished materials with which he worked. And for those who might bemoan the lack of documentation a full set of marginal notes is available in the Whittier College archives. Cooper's index, which principally is confined to "the recurring names and selected topics" might be a source of minor irritation to some.

Professor Cooper's work is most vulnerable to criticism in its final chapter — "New Dimensions of College Growth (1951-1967)". On those pages Cooper details incumbent President Paul S. Smith's contributions to the college's growth and development during sixteen years of devoted leadership. Particularly impressive has been the increase of the college's physical plant and financial resources. Net financial assets of the institution rose fivefold — from \$2,600,000 to \$14,500,000 — between 1951 and late 1966, at which time Cooper's manuscript was completed. Today they stand at approximately \$20,000,000. President Smith, however, would be the first to admit that he has had critics, to accept them as an inevitable

occupational hazard, and to entertain their viewpoints. Professor Cooper seems more reluctant to do so, with the result that the objectivity generally characteristic of his book falters. It is to Cooper's credit that he does not ignore the criticism in question. He does, however, tend to minimize or totally deny its validity, and his attitude toward the detractors ranges from condescension to minor hostility — the latter being particularly noticeable in the case of the student publication *Quaker Campus*. Professor Cooper's lengthy and close association with President Smith (since 1960 as presidential assistant) makes his viewpoint understandable. His lack of critical balance in dealing with this period in Whittier College's history, however, constitutes what probably is the major weakness of his work.

Professor Cooper's book nonetheless deserves high rank on the lengthening list of histories of American colleges and universities. It can be enthusiastically recommended not only to those interested in Whittier College or American higher education generally but to all who simply enjoy good history.

DON A. NUTTALL, a doctoral graduate in history from the University of Southern California, is an assistant professor of history at Whittier College.

*Maurice Garland Fulton's History of the Lincoln County War*. Edited by Robert N. Mullin. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968. 433 pp. \$8.50.) Reviewed by Odie B. Faulk.

To a large percentage of the public, the American West was the setting for a colossal battle between good and evil — perhaps best described as the good guy-bad guy school of Western history. Engendered by a plethora of pulp magazines and paperback novels, by low-budget movies and hasty television productions, this attitude leaves the impression that the West was conquered by a lawless, restless, brawling, fighting, eye-gouging, ear-biting breed, each with gun hanging low on hip, holster tied securely to thigh, ready to draw and fire with incredible speed and accuracy. The bad guys rode black horses and wore black hats, while the good guys rode white horses and wore white hats. The two sides had their followers in the form of gang and posse, and they clashed with gunfights at high noon, shootouts in the streets, and men ordered to leave town before sundown. All this transpired while the rest of the population sat in a nearby bar, apparently with nothing to do but drink, gamble, and act as witnesses to the violence. Perhaps no name better symbolizes this misconception about the Old West than that of Billy the Kid.

Maurice G. Fulton, aided by an able editor, Robert N. Mullin, has done a disservice to Western buffs of this genre by telling the true story of the Lincoln County War and its most infamous representative, the psychopathic William Antrim, alias William Bonney, alias Billy the Kid. Far from being a Robin Hood — or even an unfortunate victim of circumstances — the Kid was a dupe, caught in a clash which he did not fully understand, a pawn of men fighting for economic

and political power. The Lincoln County War was the result of two factions fighting for lucrative beef contracts with the federal government. On one side were Santa Fe political bosses, represented by William Rosenthal, Lawrence G. Murphy, and James J. Dolan; on the other side were independent ranchers John H. Chisum and John Tunstall. The final agony began when Tunstall opened a store in Lincoln to compete with Murphy's emporium. Five months of warfare followed, marked by ambush, sniping, and cold-blooded murder. What the book best reveals is that despicable deeds can result from greed and fear.

Fulton spent more than thirty years researching and writing this book, which was just short of completion at his death. Well-known collector and researcher Mullin completed the task, added an introduction, and edited the complete work. Unfortunately Fulton disliked footnotes—there are only twenty-three in the book—preferring to cite his sources within the text or to quote letters, newspaper articles, and interviews verbatim. This makes for choppy reading and creates some suspicions about the scholarship, especially since the book has no bibliography. However, almost every previous writer of the Lincoln County War has mentioned Fulton's scholarship with awe and noted a debt to Fulton's research. Fulton himself has become the footnote. Four hundred years ago Shakespeare had Mark Antony say, "The evil that men do lives after them, The good is oft interréd with their bones." Certainly the evil that Billy the Kid and the other participants in the Lincoln County War did has lived after them. Fortunately the good that Fulton did has not been interred but is now available in handsome format.

ODIE B. FAULK, an authority of Southwestern history, is an associate professor of history at Oklahoma State University.

*The Overland Journey of Joseph Francel, the First Bohemian to Cross the Plains to the California Gold Fields.* Introduction by Richard Brautigan. Illustrations by Patricia Oberhaus. (San Francisco: William P. Wreden, 1968. 55 pp. \$25.00.) Reviewed by Dale L. Morgan.

Joseph Francel's narrative of his overland journey to California in 1854 has received very little attention from scholars. Translated into English from the German by his son Fred, and edited by Rose Rosicky, it was serialized in a monthly magazine published at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, *Bratrský Věstník*, March-July, 1928. Copies of these five issues are in the Bancroft Library and doubtless many others. Mr. Wreden has now undertaken a rescue operation which is deserving of applause—up to a point.

The sticking point is that Fred Francel and Rose Rosicky basically did all the labor of scholarship without any credit whatever on the title page. Mr. Wreden's note at the end does not go far enough to make it clear that for good or for ill, Miss Rosicky did *all* the editorial annotation. The Introduction tells us quite a lot about Mr. Brautigan, and the drawings are as revelatory of Miss Oberhaus, but neither gives us a very good idea of either Joseph Francel or his Western

experience: the book as published is a showcase for talent, but not primarily Joseph Franci's talent. Somehow this doesn't sit well with me. The documents of our history should not be the exclusive possession of the historians and the pictorial specialists; novelists, poets, graphic artists, and others are urged, by all means, to get into the act, for they can greatly enrich the literature. Nevertheless, history exacts a basic price of admission, and all must be prepared to come up with the price who enter within the doors.

Although it is not to be credited that Franci was the first Bohemian to cross the plains to California — I suspect that an examination of C. W. Haskins' *The Argonauts of '49* would turn up many Bohemian names, five years ahead of Franci — his is nevertheless an interesting and highly individual narrative, written many years later. Leaving his Wisconsin home in the spring of 1854, he made his way to Council Bluffs (the crossing of Iowa picturesquely described), and went on to Salt Lake with John F. Kinney, newly appointed to the Supreme Court of Utah Territory. He recounts the journey well (none of the translators, editors, etc., realizing that when he referred to the "Lucky Ford" he was talking about the Loup Fork of the Platte), but regrettably says very little that has any substance about the Mormons and their city. He continued on to California, but the narrative breaks off while still in the Sierra Nevada.

A supplement made up of extracts of letters written from Placerville and Georgetown between February 3, 1855, and April 12, 1857, is filled with pungent contemporary detail on the state of the failing diggings, one of the best features of the book. Franci eventually returned to Wisconsin, moved to Nebraska in 1869, returned to the Pacific Coast in 1874, and died in Oregon next year, as Miss Rosicky tells us in an extended endnote.

DALE L. MORGAN, distinguished author and foremost specialist on Overland diaries, is on the staff of the Bancroft Library.

*A Kid on the Comstock* by John Taylor Waldorf. Edited by Dolores Waldorf Bryant. (Berkeley: University of California, Keepsakes Number 16, The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1968. 92 pp.) Reviewed by Benjamin F. Gilbert.

John Taylor Waldorf, a Comstock miner's son, spent his boyhood in Virginia City from 1873 to 1886. When he was thirty-five, Waldorf was hired by Frémont Older in 1905 to write for the *San Francisco Bulletin*. In one assignment he wrote his Comstock reminiscences which were primarily concerned with the play and pranks of children and with their impressions of the Chinese, Indians, and others in the mining area. Although somewhat entertaining, the reminiscences did not have much historical value. However, this reprinting with the editor's Introduction about the Waldorf family and the Comstock environment and her commentaries on the individual stories give the reminiscences a flavor of more significance. The original illustrations by Herb Roth are reproduced in the book. Frémont Older also had hired Roth, a native San Franciscan and a graduate of Polytechnic High School, who later gained fame as a cartoonist on the *New York World*



In 1893 Waldorf became an apprentice printer in the San Jose *Mercury's* composing room; he was active in the local typographical union, and served a term as president of the Federated Trades Council of Santa Clara County. After his elevation as a cub reporter with the *Mercury*, he was the first journalist on the scene of the gruesome Dunham murders, occurring on May 27, 1896, in a tranquil Santa Clara Valley orchard near Campbell. Later the same year Waldorf prepared himself to take the entrance examinations of Stanford University, and was tutored by Mary Helen Post, an English teacher at San Jose State Normal School. For a brief time he attended Professor Alphonso G. Newcomer's English classes at Stanford, while also gathering news items for the *Mercury* and the San Francisco *Chronicle*. He then joined the *Chronicle* staff covering city hall and police stories, including the bizarre Botkin murders. After Waldorf left Older's *Bulletin*, he did publicity work for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. He later managed publicity for James D. Phelan's successful campaign as a United States Senator. Moving to Washington, D.C., Waldorf was appointed Enrolling and Engrossing Clerk of the Senate. After several years in this post, he worked briefly for the New York *Tribune*. Upon returning to California, he did publicity work for the P.G. & E. and started its magazine, *The Progress*.

The editor in citing sources about Waldorf's tutor, Mary Post, should have listed Estelle Greathead's history of the present San Jose State College for a more relevant and fuller biographical treatment of this particular English teacher. Several errors were noted in the editor's one-page reading list: the most glaring is the title of Edmond M. Gagey's *The San Francisco Stage* as *The San Francisco State*; another is in the title of Joseph L. King's *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board*.

BENJAMIN F. GILBERT, author and historian, is professor of history at San Jose State College.

*America's Frontier Heritage*, By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. 310 pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Harold A. Whelan.

Frederick Jackson Turner in his essay, "Some Sociological Aspects of American History" says, "To trace the successive stages of this occupation of the continent, and the consequent transformations of American society, is the task of future historians who shall give an adequate explanation of the America of today, its men, its institutions and its issues."

Ray Allen Billington, as editor and driving force behind the implementation of Turner's mandate, set the stage for the treatment of the "successive stages of occupation" in a series of eighteen volumes under the heading of *The Histories of the American Frontier*, written by eminently qualified historians. He then assigned to himself in his *America's Frontier Heritage* the task of exploring whether Turner's thesis is sufficiently comprehensive to give "an adequate explanation of the America of today."

Using Turner's method of the "multiple hypothesis", Billington employs the allied sciences of psychology, sociology, economics, and literature to show that the conquering of the Great West did indeed make an impression upon modern society, but not with the unrestrained conviction of Frederick Jackson Turner. There are sixty-five pages of footnotes in the back of the book that are a veritable treasure trove on Western historiography to the serious scholar. But such profuse annotation tends to obscure the author's proficiency in his subject, and the reader is left with the feeling of disappointment with the lack of originality in a work of this nature.

"The coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and 'inquisitiveness'; the practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends, that restless, nervous energy; that dominant energy and exuberance which comes from freedom" are what Turner called the traits of the West. He believed that these characteristics had a deep and enduring effect upon American society. Mr. Billington has examined them from their every aspect.

Although the author's scholarly cautiousness leaves the reader rather bewildered in a sea of confusing opinions, his book is perhaps the most brilliant attempt to fulfill the wishes of Turner. The problems presented in the light of a rapidly changing and complex world, and not just of an isolated American society, make this work one full of challenging and conflicting ideas from which the author leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In his final chapter, Billington shows that unlike Turner, he is not given to blanket statements when he writes, "Those who have read thus far will agree that the frontier's impact on American traits and institutions can never be exactly defined." But some traits which Turner says were influenced by the frontier were exaggerated by foreign observers and are still alive in today's American culture. On this rather tenuous base the author infers that three hundred years of frontiers experience must have played some part in the development of our American heritage. Some of the characteristics that Turner believed were imbedded in our culture can be related to the pioneers' confrontation with the wilderness, but many have become outmoded or nonexistent.

As a long awaited fulfillment of a desire expressed by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1895, *America's Frontier Heritage* is also a forceful argument for further serious study in an area of our national development which has not received the attention it so richly deserves. The book, which is a part of the *Histories of the American Frontier* series, must be read to give greater depth and meaning to all the other *Frontier* works. But taken on its own merits, it is a book that has been long overdue and a valuable addition to any scholar's library.

FATHER WHELAN earned his master's degree in history at California State College at Los Angeles. He is the Archivist and Historian for the California Province of the Sacred Hearts Fathers. A former member of the Social Studies Steering Committee of the School Board of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, he is now currently pursuing his studies for a doctorate at the University of Southern California.

*The Vallejos of California.* By Madie Brown Emparan. (San Francisco: The Gleeson Library Associates, 1968. 464 pp. \$25.00.) Reviewed by John B. McGloin, S.J.

This excellently designed and well printed volume is the first publication of the Gleeson Library Associates of the University of San Francisco. The superior craftsmanship of Lawton and Alfred Kennedy is shown all through the interesting pages of the volume. Although not an inexpensive book, the large volume should find a place in the libraries of all serious collectors of the important books which concern California's past.

Although the phrase "a labor of love" could be called a bit trite, it is hard to think of a better one when writing about how this book came to be. Madie Brown Emparan, wedded to Richard Raoul Emparan, General Vallejo's grandson, comes quite legitimately by her high interest in the story of what she writes over a long period of time. Not only has she served as Curator of the Vallejo home in Sonoma — "Lachryma Montis" — from 1947 to 1962, but, even before, she was interested in recapturing as much of the authentic Vallejo story as possible. Correctly, she learned after patient research — much of it in the prime materials which are quoted extensively in this book — that there was either ignorance with regard to the General himself or simply the passing on of incomplete vignettes about him which fall quite short of furnishing those interested with the whole story. Hence the author's determination, now happily realized, to present the "Complete Vallejo" in these pages. It would be difficult, it seems, to find any point of essential importance about the Vallejos of California which has not been treated in this present work; like Rome, it was not built in a day but, again like Rome, now that it is completed, it stands forth in imperial and impressive proportions.

The first 200 pages of this book are concerned with a detailed account of the life history of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, 1807-1890. Seemingly, it was the author's purpose here to relate this life with the relevant events on California's past which concerned Vallejo and with which, in many cases, he was directly involved. While much of what is told here will already be quite well known to those conversant with the California story, they will find it here against a different frame of reference that will enable them to form their judgments as to the importance of Vallejo as well as his virtues, defects and important place in our past. Some may find the style a bit abrupt and even choppy in places: one must remind oneself that what is here presented is, in the best sense of the word, a complete source book covering the Vallejo story. The thrust here, at least as this reviewer sees it, is in the direction of exactness and completeness rather than merely in "spinning a story." The second half of the book is devoted to warm and colorful accounts — surely, they are more than sketches — of all of the Vallejo family, starting with Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo de Vallejo, the General's wife. An impressive array of information concerning the family finds its way into this section of the book. Certainly, the life histories here presented contain many details which it would be difficult to come by save here.

The present reviewer, while recognizing certain limitations in this book, must

acknowledge that, even though he has taught the Vallejo story for two decades now in California history classes, his opinions concerning various facets of this story have undergone mental revision and a certain refining process which should make him more cautious in remarks concerning Vallejo. He was interested to learn that Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco was not Vallejo's especial "cup of tea" — but the reader will soon find out why as he reads on. Father Engelhardt, redoubtable Franciscan historian, does not like Vallejo in his highly opinionated *Missions and Missionaries of California* but, it would seem, that his strictures are not well founded in regard to certain phases of the Vallejo family history. After all, it was not difficult to be liberally damned by Engelhardt if, in his opinion, one was not what he considered he should have been! It would seem, then, that the Vallejo that comes through in these pages, based as they are on solid historical materials including many of the General's letters, is about as close to the real Vallejo as we need ever look for. To have brought all this to pass is the high achievement of this present volume.

JOHN B. MCGLOIN is professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-West Coast of America.* By John Meares. Bibliotheca Australiana, 22. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 596 pp. \$35.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The voyage of John Meares to the Northwest Coast (British Columbia) was among the most important of its kind, principally because of his excellent descriptions and his presence during a crucial time in the history of the region. Outfitted in India, Meares with the *Felice*, and William Douglas with the *Iphigenia Nubiana*, set sail for the Hawaiian Islands in January, 1788, with a cargo of cattle. Although this was his most famous voyage, Meares was not a novice in the trans-Pacific trade of England, having conducted a voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1786.

The ships separated at Hawaii and Meares arrived at Vancouver Island in May, 1788, and commenced trade for highly prized sea otter pelts with the two principal chieftains of the Nootka Sound area, Wicananish of the Clayoquot and Maquinna of the Nootka. Following this trading session, in June Meares sailed southward to the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Oregon coast and returned to Clayoquot where he remained until September trading for pelts. Meares' observations during this stay relative to the weather, natural history, native culture, and methods of whale fishing are detailed and among the finest available.

Prior to his return to the Orient, Meares met the *Washington* under the Bostonian Robert Gray, and although competitors, the exchange was amicable. Douglas with the *Iphigenia Nubiana* also reached Nootka after sailing to Kodiak Island, and following a short trading session sailed for Hawaii while Meares ed to Macao



Douglas returned to Nootka in June of 1789 to find the *Columbia* under Gray and the *Washington* under another Bostonian, John Kendrick, at anchor. Although free trade had been the rule at Nootka, Spain's claims to the area dating from the sixteenth century were being exerted in the form of the arrest of the English Captain James Colnett and his crew and the impounding of his ships the *Princess Royal* and the *Argonaut* by the Spanish commandant Esteban José Martínez. Given the opportunity to avoid involvement in what was to become the Nootka Sound Controversy, Douglas set sail for Macao in August.

Following the description of the voyages, Meares includes a series of tables relative to the routes covered, navigational and meteorological observations, as well as letters and instructions, and the journal of Robert Duffin of the exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Also deeply interested in Britain's position in the Nootka Sound Controversy, Meares concludes his appendix with a Memorial to the House of Commons relative to the Colnett incident as well as depositions and documents relative to the seizure of the *Princess Royal*.

Originally published in London by the Logographic Press in 1790, this second edition faithfully reproduces, in facsimile and on fine paper, not only the text but also the 27 maps and plates of the first and only other edition. At a fraction of the price of the first edition, Meares, a classic in its field, is a valuable contribution to the history of voyages and discovery.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, author of *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630*, is assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles: An Inquiry into Early Appellations.* By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Plantin Press, 1968. 17 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

Curiously the full name of Los Angeles has been misused by historians and town leaders even before her founding in 1781. Named after the brook that once flowed across the coastal plain, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, the town was the site of an asistencia of Mission San Gabriel. The first baptismal entry registers the town name as does Father Francisco Palóu who noted in his memoirs details of her founding and Felipe de Neve who supervised her building. So the town on the banks of the Porciúncula was properly entitled Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula.

But contemporary and later chronicles added *La Reina* to the name. Although there is no reason for associating *La Reina* with Porciúncula, at least not any evidence Father Weber could find, the association was made. Today a seminary, hospital, and school include *La Reina* in their title, without any historical justification except that they are following ecclesiastical verbiage of an earlier generation.

Father Weber's essay is as graciously written as it is attractively presented. In a few pages he tells a story of a city that can be told of few others.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*This Was Pioneer Motoring.* By Robert F. Karolevitz. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1968. 192 pp. \$12.95.) Reviewed by John B. Rae.

The output of books on the early days of the automobile has become almost as torrential as the output of books about trains. This one is better than most because it is something more than a collection of pictures of old cars. The author has made an effort to combine text and illustrations in a topical pattern so as to bring out several salient features of the emergence of the automobile in American life. Beginning with a section on the origins of the motor vehicle, the book looks into such topics as racing and long-distance tours, the founders of the automobile industry, the Model T, road conditions, service facilities, and all the panorama of early motoring.

It is a fascinating collection, but it gets off to a poor start because the author obviously did not take the trouble to find out why Oliver Evans called his invention of 1805 the *Oruktor Amphibolos*. It means "the digger that works both ways," which is precisely what Evans's steam-powered dredge was supposed to do and did. To compensate, there are accounts of little-known sagas such as the 1905 transcontinental journey of two curved-dash Oldsmobiles, "Old Scout" and "Old Steady," and the last of the Glidden Tours, from Minneapolis to Glacier National Park, in 1913.

What Mr. Karolevitz has achieved is to convey a sense of what it was like to drive a car in the days when an automobile was still a horseless carriage and there was no real assurance that it would actually replace the horse.

We have become comfortably conditioned to setting out in our cars with the assurance that there would be good roads to where we were going and that service facilities would be available wherever we wanted or needed them. What was it like sixty years ago? To cite one simple need, where did the motorist go to buy gasoline? If there was trouble on the road, as there frequently was with those early vehicles, where did the service come from? Too often there was no service. The pioneer motorist had to provide for his own needs — carry his own gas and be prepared to make his own repairs. Mr. Karolevitz has, in the current expression, "told it like it was." The account may evoke nostalgia, but nostalgia can be endured as long as we do not actually have to go back to those days.

This is an entertaining book and something more. It is a contribution to the still unwritten social history of the American automobile.

JOHN B. RAE is professor of History at Harvey Mudd College.

*Diamondfield Jack (A Study in Frontier Justice).* By David H. Grover. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1968. 177 pp. \$5.00.) Reviewed by McIntyre Faries.

This little book of 177 pages is different from most of today's books dealing with historical characters and events. For instance, it is not full of fictional conversations, does not dwell at length on scenery, the central figure is not really the hero, there is no heroine (there is but one woman in the book and she is rather a

"character" who appears only in the sequel) and it is not a love story — unless one can speak of love of justice creating a love story. Nevertheless, it is fascinating reading, most worthwhile; and, for those interested in the West in the 1890's and early 1900's, those who are interested in law and justice of the West at that time, those who are nostalgic (as I am) about the life in that era among the cowmen and sheepherders of the West, it should almost be required reading.

Diamondfield Jack was, as so many of those men were, initially from the South and his true name was Jack Davis. He made his way into the West where he lived as a garrulous cowboy signing on as a gunman for cattle interests in southern Idaho and northern Nevada in the early '90's. The need for a gunman existed because of the constant pushing west of the sheepmen and the attempt of the cattlemen to maintain a line of demarcation.

The decaying bodies of two sheepmen were found in their wagon, the dogs still tethered thereto. Talkative Diamondfield was charged with the murder. The cattle interests provided the lawyer for the defense, and he was a great lawyer — tenacious, able and highly respected. James H. Hawley, Esq., really might be called the important character of the book. Making his way to fame as a prosecutor was William E. Borah, later United States Senator from Idaho. The trial, conviction and the many, many steps thereafter which occurred (I will not disclose just what happened) took almost as long as the Chessman case. They were well timed, legitimate and fought intelligently over six years, whereas Chessman finally was executed after about eight. You will enjoy following the trial and maneuvering. Diamondfield's later life, the many characters he met and with whom he lived and worked are of historic interest. You will no doubt recognize names and places. The book is documented. I am sorry it does not contain Borah's speech which he is said to have delivered at the trial for murder but apparently did not. Also I am sorry not to have learned more about Diamondtooth Lil, Nevada, mining in the 1900's, the connections (if any) between the Mormon church and the sheepmen, the Republican and Democrat groups which may or may not have been involved in the prosecution, what took place later, etc. Perhaps the writer will do a sequel. If it is done, I will read it and I hope it will be like this book — factual, good history and good reading.

McINTYRE FARIES, a learned jurist, has served for many years as a judge of the Superior Court, Los Angeles County.

*Rudolph James Wig: Engineer, Presbyterian Layman, Pomona College Trustee.*  
By Clifford Merrill Drury. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968. 320 pp. \$6.50.) Reviewed by George H. Sage.

The subject of this biography, Rudolph James Wig, is truly "A Man For All Seasons." It heightens one's faith in humanity to read about such a man. The author, Clifford M. Drury, made a wise choice when he decided to write a biography of Wig for it is a story that needed telling. Drury fortunately had access to

a good deal of primary source material from which he weaves a fascinating story of a remarkable man.

The story of Wig's life is divided into four parts in the book. The first part tells of his ancestry, childhood, and marriage. His professional career as an engineer and industrialist is described in Part Two. Part Three deals with his committee work and philanthropy with the Goodwill Industries, Pomona and the other Claremont Colleges, and higher education in California. The last part details his work with regional and national committees and commissions of the Presbyterian Church and other interdenominational organizations.

R. J. Wig was the son of a Hungarian immigrant, Jozsef Gyurkotzy, who came to the United States in 1864. Settling in the Midwest, Gyurkotzy changed his name to Wig; he then married and he and his wife had five children, four boys and a girl. Rudolph J. Wig was the fourth of the children and was born October 3, 1883. His early childhood was a pleasant, comfortable, and simple life, with his mother responsible for most of his upbringing, since his father was a traveling salesman.

Drury makes use of Wig's wife's (the former Anna May Bartlett) diary from 1901 to 1905 to trace the thread of their meeting and courtship and to reveal the personality of both of them. The reader will find this a unique and intimate look into the lives of two young persons at the beginning of the twentieth century. After a seven-year courtship, they were married in 1910.

Wig graduated from Lewis Institute — now Illinois Institute of Technology — in 1907, with a degree in mechanical engineering. Study and research into the structural strength of concrete led to his employment with the United States Geological Survey, which was transferred to the Bureau of Standards in 1910. Wig's research into the uses of concrete led to his developing plans and supervising the building of concrete ships in World War I. To carry out these tasks, he left the Bureau of Standards in 1917 to become a Chief Engineer for the United States Shipping Board. Here he remained for about two years.

Wig left government service in 1919 and entered into private industry with the Celite Products Company of Los Angeles, which owned the huge deposits of diatomaceous earth at Lompoc, California. Wig's job was to solve the financial problems of the company. Largely through his administrative efficiency, the financial affairs of the company were reorganized, and the company was transformed from near bankruptcy to a thriving organization.

In 1929 a new business venture captured the interest of Wig. He and some of his associates acquired a small chemical company and incorporated it as the Kelco Company. This company developed many uses for kelp and other seaweed products. From 1929 to 1949 Wig served as vice-president and member of the board of directors. Other business ventures, from an efficiency administrator at Douglas and Timm Aircraft Corporations during World War II to a gentleman citrus farmer, occupied his attention until his retirement in 1949.

Wig's activities in charitable, educational, and religious organizations began while he was professionally active and extended throughout his years of retire-



ment (he never considered himself retired). While his business interests demanded most of his time and attention, his service activities were limited, but after his sixty-fifth birthday, he engaged in an awesome number of activities. In the 1950's he was simultaneously a member of over thirty different boards or committees. For thirty-eight years Wig was a Pomona College trustee. For thirty-two years he was treasurer of the Goodwill Industries of Los Angeles. He devoted twenty-nine years to the Church Extension Board of Los Angeles Presbytery. He was founder and president for several years of the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities. This is a list of only a few of Wig's activities. Drury uses two full pages (pp. 186-187) to catalog the more important committees, boards, or organizations of which Wig was a member.

Wig and his wife had three daughters. It is evident that his family was an absorbing interest of his. Notwithstanding his busy schedule of business and philanthropic activities, he still had time to encourage the educational, musical, and religious undertakings of his daughters. When his daughters married and had children, he lavished love and affection on his grandchildren.

In a conversation with Drury before his death, Wig said that his wife had given him some good advice that had been a part of his life's philosophy. She had said, "If you have done the best you know how, truly your best, that is all God should ask of you and you should not have to worry." It seems abundantly clear from Wig's accomplishments that he really did live by this philosophy. He died on April 8, 1968, just one week before this book was scheduled to be released.

Mr. Drury's readable style, scholarly research, and truly remarkable subject combine to give the reader an insightful perspective into the contributions of one man to California and the nation.

GEORGE H. SAGE is an associate professor at Colorado State College.

*The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West after 1873.* By W. Turrentine Jackson. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

In referring to the British people, we Americans are prone to think of the Scots as identical with the English, an error never committed by the former, and only by the latter at the risk of heated argument. Professor Jackson wrote this book with other objects in mind but in so doing strongly emphasized the basic differences in backgrounds and institutions of those who dwell north and south of the Tweed.

The book is an introductory survey of Scottish-American economic history. It records the part played in the development of the American Middle and Far West by Scottish enterprises in the nineteenth century. It concerns itself rather with the activities of corporate groups than with the fortunes of individual immigrants. These groups were largely made up of merchants and manufacturers located in Edinburgh and Dundee and to a less extent in Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Professor Jackson's pages are not filled with romantic tales of Scottish pioneers in western agriculture and mining nor with their vicissitudes while raising cattle on the Great Plains. Romance and adventure are implicit in such a recital, but this is no script for movie writers or television stars.

In the early nineteenth century, the undeveloped areas west of the Mississippi attracted large amounts of European capital, mainly from Great Britain. Investments in land and natural resources, bonds of federal, state and local governments and especially the securities of the rapidly expanding railroads were favorites. From the close of the Civil War to the Panic of 1873 it is estimated foreign capital employed in the United States had grown to one and one-half billions of dollars. Despite a slight withdrawal during the depression of the 1870's, investors in England and especially in Scotland continued to export funds, so that by the outbreak of world war in 1914, the stake of overseas capitalists in America was between five and seven billions.

The capital migrating from Great Britain was the property of many individual investors, as well as the underwritings of large investment banking houses, mainly in London. While some of these investors were Scots, the latter developed and largely used institutions of their own invention. Only by studying the impressive records that Professor Jackson has assembled are we likely to realize the major role played by Scottish capital in the development of the American West. Even more impressive is the same record viewed from the Scottish standpoint. One of its own commentators noted as early as 1884: "In proportion to her size and the number of her population, she (Scotland) furnishes far more of it than either of the other kingdoms... England sparingly... Ireland hardly any, but Scotland revels in foreign investment."

The first limited liability joint stock companies organized to invest in the United States began business in Edinburgh in 1873 and 1874 — the Scottish-American Investment Company, Limited, and the Scottish-American Mortgage Company, Limited. Each enjoyed a long, successful existence and richly rewarded its shareholders. While many of these were residents of Edinburgh, a large number of subscribers lived in Dundee and some in Glasgow. The first named company planned primarily to invest in railroad securities, the second in mortgage loans on farms and urban property.

Professor Jackson moralizes on the proverbial canniness of the Scots. In the creation of most of these trusts and mortgage companies, this trait seems to have predominated. Some of the organizers made long journeys to survey the areas and industries in which funds were to be invested. Local agents were carefully selected and trained. Sound operating rules were adopted. Many of the companies later started were not so wisely guided. Some of them were profitable; quite a number fared badly. As in all financial endeavors, the price for careless disregard of safe fundamentals was high.

There is a general impression among many present day mortgage lenders that the long term loan whose principal is repayable in installments (usually monthly) was largely the product of the Federal Housing Administration in the early

1930's. They may be surprised to learn from Professor Jackson that sixty years earlier, these Scottish mortgage lenders made monthly installment repayment a cardinal requirement in all their lending. Initially loans were usually for small amounts by present day standards. Interest at 7%, 8%, and even sometimes more was charged when money in Scotland was commanding 4% or 4½%. The security was lands scattered among many states. Experience with Scandinavian and German farmers was especially good.

Space does not permit mention of many interesting promotions of this period. It is singular however to find how many of the more successful concerns were organized or largely owned in Dundee, which even today has a population well under two hundred thousand. Comment was made in 1886 that residents of Dundee had overseas investments between nine and ten times the value of the total realty within the burgh. Two remarkable men, Robert Fleming and William Mackenzie, contributed materially to the great success achieved by the Dundee trust companies.

Soon some of the Scottish companies branched out into large scale timber operations in the redwoods of northern California, into cattle ranching and gold, silver and copper mining. Again the record was a checkered one. Serious scandal involved fraudulent land entries in the redwoods. Cattle raising prospered for a time; then droughts, severe winters and a depressed market for beef cost the Scots dearly. As one scans the mining ventures listed by Professor Jackson, it seems possible that some disillusioned Scotchman may have coined the recipe for making money in mining — "stay out of it". In case after case, the Scottish promoters installed expensive machinery and did much development work only to find they had no profitable ore body.

Brilliant exceptions appear in these chronicles. In a list of California speculations is the success story of the Jumper Mine in the hamlet of Stent in Tuolumne County, which grossed its Glasgow owners some \$3,000,000.00 from a modest initial investment. A far greater success was enjoyed by the Scottish-American Mortgage Company of Edinburgh which in the 1880's ventured into copper mining at Clifton, Arizona. The outcome of this was the famous Arizona Copper Company, Ltd., Scotland's most heavily capitalized mining venture of the nineteenth century. Its success continued well into the twentieth century, and is estimated to have paid six million pounds in dividends between 1901 and 1921.

Equally spectacular was one of the Dundee company's ventures in the volatile cattle business, the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd. in Texas. Starting in 1882 with capital of 400,000.00 pounds, its stockholders who held on through good and evil times, sold out in 1951 for over thirty times their original cost, after having received on an average about 15% per annum in dividends for thirty years. It is true that oil discovered in the company's last years played a part in this good fortune.

Since this is a book primarily for students and researchers in the field of economic history, the numerous well documented footnotes and an excellent bibliography and index add materially to its value.

An error is apparent on page 155; the word "mortgagees" should have been used in the phrase "because mortgagors threatened to foreclose". Then on page 245, the same error occurs in reverse, when the text reads: "owing to the inability of mortgagees to meet their obligations". Here, of course, the sense calls for "mortgagors".

DWIGHT L. CLARKE is a former banker and life insurance company president. He is a Fellow of the California Historical Society, and at present one of its Trustees and a member of its Publications Committee.

*Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement.* By Thomas D. Clark. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. 836 pp. \$8.75.) Reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes.

The American westward movement truly began in 1607 in Virginia, the first permanent English colony on the Atlantic seaboard. The "westward movement" in terms of population shift is still going on, but Professor Clark accepts the usual historical convention that the frontier, in terms of "conquering the West," was closed in 1890, when the last armed Indian uprising was quelled in the blood-letting at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

The spasmodic but relentless advance of the frontier, taking three hundred years to travel across a band one thousand miles wide and three thousand miles long, was a vital factor in all phases of American history to 1890 — military, political, economic, social and intellectual. Hence a book on this subject is a rather enormous undertaking. *Frontier America* (a new edition of the 1959 original) has over eight hundred big pages but even on this scale the subject can be treated only in broad outline. Indeed, this is intended primarily as a college text-book; the thirty-two chapter bibliographies suggest the hundreds of avenues which radiate from the central theme.

Anyone who tries to cover the whole wide frontier world in one volume runs the danger of being thin and superficial. Professor Clark avoids this by vigorous writing, the use of colorful detail, and a masterful breakdown and balancing of the subthemes.

The introductory chapter offers some useful generalizations and tantalizing paradoxes. Never in the history of the world, the author points out, was so much virgin territory brought under civilized control in so short a time. In its broadest meaning this is the account of the molding of people of diverse origins and motives into a fairly homogeneous national group. In its more localized implications, this is the story of thousands of communities evolving from the primitive harshness of first settlement to the refinements of a far-flung technology. The most important ingredients in the frontier pattern were (1) spaciousness, the immensity of forest, prairie and sky, with (2) the concomitant illusion of an earthly paradise of unlimited resources which would usher in Utopia, and, within this pattern, (3) the availability of land for everyone, soil rich and bound-



less enough to fulfill — or so it would seem, for a few decades at least — the American dream.

If there is a distinctive American character, it was certainly molded by the frontier experience. The hereditary European character was a composite of the lowly serf, the grubby merchant and the arrogant lord; but this stratified character was transmuted by the new set of values resulting from interaction with the American wilderness. Here emerged a new variety of *Homo Sapiens*, culturally speaking, with certain common denominators — independence, daring, disdain of old country conventions, love of political brawling, hatred of taxation, and a cheerful and prodigal consumption of natural resources. In the mid-twentieth century the stress and strain of new frontiers — psychological and technological — is compelling alterations to the image; but the roots of the American character, or mystique, cannot be understood today without an understanding of this earlier frontier heritage.

Excellent maps and illustrations help to relieve the tedium of some 350,000 words. Another device is the use of a pertinent contemporary quotation to introduce each chapter. Particularly intriguing is this passage from the French observer, De Tocqueville: "Millions of men are marching at once towards the same horizon; their language, their religion, their manners differ, their object is the same. The gifts of fortune are promised in the West, and to the West they bend their course."

MERRILL J. MATTES, author and authority on the American West, is a member of the National Park Service.

Carl Brent Swisher, *Motivation and Political Technique in the Constitutional Convention, 1878-79*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. 132 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Edgar F. Love.

Dr. Swisher in this interesting reprint of a monograph written in 1930, before the political behavioralists became so popular, attempts to explain the factors leading up to the calling of the California Constitutional Convention of 1878-79, the dynamics of the political struggle that took place at the convention, and to assess the work and goals of the delegates. The author maintains that the delegates sought "to solve permanently problems which the existing political organization had refused or neglected to solve. They were the representatives of an outraged people who demanded that they get immediate results." The ferment of the people centered around the issues of regulating the railroads and other corporations, the unequal burdens of taxation, the problems of race relations, and the clash between the interests of capitalists, farmers and laborers. Dr. Swisher asserts that nothing was done about these important problems "until men who were manifestly unable to handle the situation forced the issue."

The main thesis of Dr. Swisher's study is that the Constitution of 1879 was the result of conflicting self interests among three diverse and incompatible groups, who were more concerned with the special interest of their constituents than the

welfare of the State of California. These three groups included the following: (1) the conservative capitalists, largely represented at the convention by lawyers and a few large land holders; (2) the small farmers, who were generally opposed to the corporations and monopolist and outraged at the system of taxation; and (3) the city laborers, who as a propertyless class had little stake in the existing order. According to Swisher, each of the above groups thought that they were the true representatives of the people and, therefore, fought bitterly to ensure that the cause they championed would in fact triumph. The farmers and the laborers, especially the delegates of the ethnocentric Workingmen's Party, naively thought that they were achieving through this constitution "unchangeable legislation, free from the trammels of legislative amendment and judicial interpretation . . ." The conservative big businessmen, whose delegates at the constitutional convention diligently sought to maintain the *status quo*, were never satisfied with the constitution and soon discovered effective means in later years of effectively negating the reform programs set forth in the constitution.

This reviewer suspects that if Dr. Swisher were to update his study, in light of the political events and climate after 1930, he would reevaluate some of his conclusions. Dr. Swisher suggests, for example, the need for another constitutional convention and hopes that "the new convention will be held in calmer times, that the new constitution will contain more of vision and less of narrow mandate." These are noble sentiments and hopes, but apparently we will have a long wait before the "calmer days" arrive in California. The ethnocentric nature of California politics existed long before 1878, and the Workingmen's Party of the 1870's, who stressed the slogan "The Chinese must go", have their contemporary counterparts. The "blind fervor of racial prejudice," which Swisher states was so pronounced at the time of California Constitutional Convention of 1878-79, is still part of the California scene.

Dr. Swisher takes the position that the constitutional convention was a failure and that the constitution adopted was hardly suited to effectively deal with the problems of our state. In the light of the author's analysis of the motivations and techniques of the delegates, it would have been almost impossible in 1878 for the delegates to have written a constitution to deal with future problems and not to have represented the narrow interests of special groups. On the other hand, Professor Swisher, writing in 1930, believed that there was a possibility that the next constitutional convention might be motivated by "enlightened utilitarianism" of individuals "who have the greatest capacity for looking ahead and planning a harmonious political organization of the state as it will be." It remains to be seen whether this idealist goal will be achieved.

EDGAR F LOVE, who is on the staff of the Political Science Department at El Camino College, also teaches United States Negro history at the University of Southern California

# An Memoriam

## WALTER AUGUSTUS STARR 1877-1969

Walter Augustus Starr, capitalist, conservationist and industrialist died on August 22, 1969, at his Piedmont home at the age of 92.

Mr. Starr was born on March 14, 1877, in San Francisco. He was the son of William McKendry Starr and Kate Florence (Calkin) Starr. The Starr family has been associated in the flour milling and wheat exporting business in the Sacramento Valley since a few years after gold was discovered.

Walter Starr attended Oakland elementary and high schools. He graduated in 1897 from the University of California. His plans for a career in the Starr Company, a grain and milling business, were wrecked by the depression of 1893-97. Immediately after graduation he spent three years along the Yukon River prospecting for gold and transporting mail by dog sled from Skagway for the government. He related his experiences in a book *My Adventures in the Klondike and Alaska 1898-1900*.

Mr. Starr returned to San Francisco, took over operations of the Occidental Warehouse. Two years later he started his own grain and feed milling business and became a member of the San Francisco Merchants Exchange. From 1912 to 1919 he grew grain and operated a large farm in the San Joaquin Valley.

During World War I he became a "Dollar a Year Man", from 1917 to 1920, with the federal government in the United States Food Administration Corporation. In 1921, Mr. Starr re-entered the business world and became associated with Edward L. Eyre and Company, grain merchants and exporters. He became a member of the Chicago Board of Trade.

In 1932 the Soundview Pulp Company was organized and Mr. Starr became an original director and vice-president. In 1951 Soundview Pulp Company was merged with Scott Paper and Mr. Starr was a director of the company until his retirement in 1959. Other business interests included mining developments in Nevada and California during the period of 1905 to 1935.

Mr. Starr's activities included being a director and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Bank, Oakland, 1933 to 1947; director of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company from 1935 and chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco during the years 1935 to 1955. He joined the California Historical Society in 1935, was a trustee from 1939 to 1947; vice-president of the Society, 1940-1942; served as president 1942 to 1943; and in 1963 was elected a Fellow of the Society. He also was a director of the Save the Redwoods League. As a director and president of the Sierra Club, he will be remembered for his excellent work in conservation. He held member-

ships in the Society of California Pioneers, the Pacific Union Club, Merchants Exchange Club and the Commonwealth Club of California.

In September, 1962, Mr. Starr wrote an article for the California Historical Society Quarterly "Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay in 1579".

On May 30, 1902, Walter Starr married Carmen Moore of Oakland. Mr. Starr is survived by Mrs. Starr and their son Allan. An older son, Walter, lost his life on August 3, 1933, mountain climbing in the high Sierra.

With the death of Walter Starr a long life of many accomplishments terminates. The community lost a noble citizen, an honorable man, a devoted conservationist and an outstanding industrialist.

EDGAR M. KAHN



# Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's Mansion is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed for 1969.

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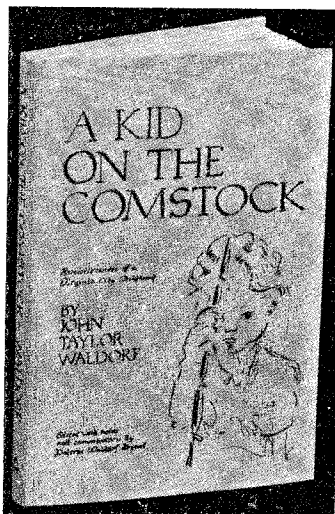
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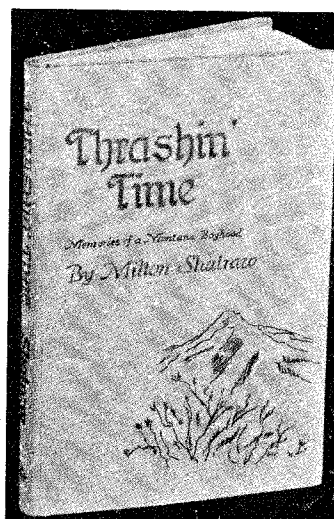


### *Reminiscences of a Virginia City Childhood* BY JOHN TAYLOR WALDORF

This book captures the essence of those brief, bright days when Virginia City was noisy, dangerous, exciting, tough — and all silver. When these nostalgic yarns originally appeared in Fremont Older's San Francisco *Bulletin*, beginning in 1905, they were read by thousands. In 1968 they were reissued in an expensive limited edition by the Friends of the Bancroft Library. Now American West brings them to you in a popular edition and completely new format. Interesting commentaries, carefully researched and written by Dolores Waldorf Bryant, accompany each chapter, and 40 pages of period photos have been added to dramatize this colorful tale of Virginia City life. 208 pages. \$5.95

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# IN PURSUIT OF THE GOLDEN DREAM

*Reminiscences of San Francisco,  
and the Northern and Southern Mines, 1849-1857,  
by Howard C. Gardiner*

EDITED BY DALE L. MORGAN

A seventh-generation Long Islander, Howard C. Gardiner was caught up by the Gold Rush early in 1849, made his way to California via Panama, and remained on the Golden Shore eight years. In 1896, his California memories burning bright, he wrote the extended reminiscences now published.

Most of the Forty-niners who subsequently recorded their adventures had returned home by 1852, so that Gardiner breaks new ground by giving a connected account of the mines down to 1857, when the placers had ceased to pay. He had a warm understanding of the quirks of human nature, including his own, so that his reminiscences are a lively chronicle of his fellow Forty-niners as well as the era they created.

In a wide-ranging introduction, "Through the Haze of Time: The California Gold Rush in Retrospect," Dale L. Morgan surveys at length the entire literature of Gold Rush reminiscences, discussing in detail every such work published from 1860 to the present day, making it clear why Gardiner's narrative stands "in the very

first rank" of this literature. This comprehensive bibliographical and historical survey makes *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream* an essential means of access to the ever more diffuse record of the Gold Rush.

Morgan has also heightened the value of Gardiner's own chronicle with exhaustive notes and a biographical sketch which is the more attractive for including the letters that passed between Howard Gardiner and Sarah Louise Crosby before their marriage in 1866. Any subject Morgan takes up in his books is enlarged by his work, and Gardiner is no exception. *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream* has been designed and printed in San Francisco by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, in their customary superb style. The size 8¾ x 11 inches, approximately 450 pages—deckled edge paper, uncut. There will be 8 plates, and a new map showing Gardiner's travels. Price: Regular Edition \$30.00; the Limited Edition of 100 numbered and signed, will be bound in leather and boxed at \$75.00

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The story of the contribution of the Jews to the cultural, civic, and  
economic life of Los Angeles, from the pioneer days of the Hellmans  
and Newmarks down to the present—a book that adds much to our  
appreciation of the part played by ethnic minorities in the growth of  
western America.

March, 1970; app. 355 pp.; illus.

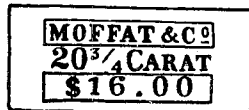
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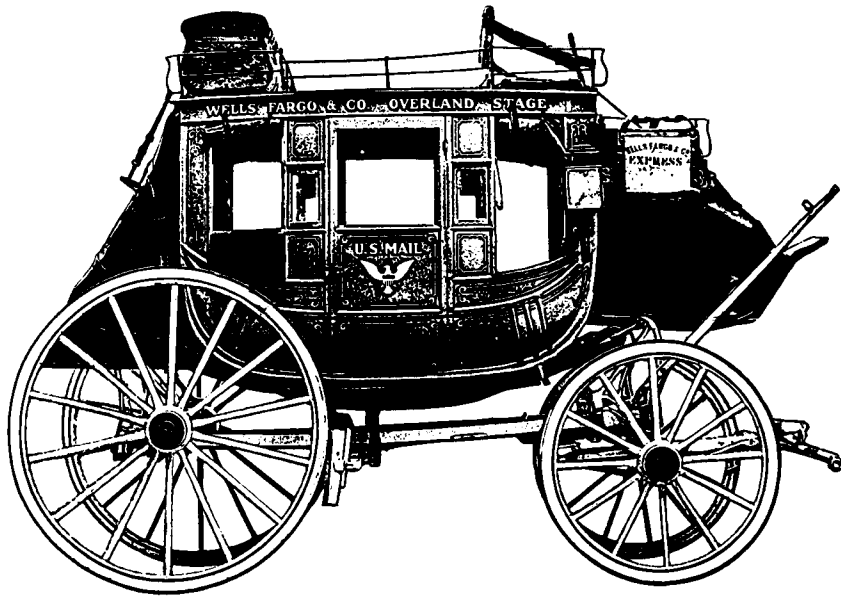
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